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AUTHOR Read, Catherine; Mackay, Ron
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ABSTRACT

This study outlines some of the literacy problems of immigrants to Canada and the attempts being made to overcome these problems. The study first examines some of the popular definitions of literacy with a view to finding one that might be a goal for all illiterates in Canada regardless of their birthplace. Next, the latest data are analyzed to highlight any apparent immigration trends and characteristics of immigrants in terms of linguistic and ethnic background, education, and income. The occupations in which immigrants are found are analyzed to establish not only where immigrants work but also where illiterates work. The policies of both the Canadian Government and the provincial governments are then examined to find out the priority that each level of government accords to literacy activities, particularly for adult immigrants. In the next section, the approaches of other countries to combatting illiteracy are discussed as possibilities from which Canada can learn. The report then discusses the problems of immigrants to Canada and the effect of these problems on determining the educational needs of immigrants. Finally, some of the responses to immigrants in Canada are considered, in particular some of the community-based language and literacy programs set up to overcome educational barriers and meet the identified needs of immigrants in their communities. This document contains extensive tables concerning immigrant literacy in Canada and a list of references. (KC)

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ILLITERACY

AMONG ADULT IMMIGRANTS

IN CANADA

CATHERINE READ

RON MACKAY

CONCORDIA UNIVERSITY

MONTREAL, DECEMBER 1984.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
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CHAPTER 1 : THE CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

Canada is an advanced, industrialized nation which has offered free elementary and secondary education to all its citizens in most parts of the country for over forty years. Despite this, not all Canadians can read or write effectively.

Illiteracy in Canada has received increased attention in recent years. For example, in 1976 Audrey Thomas surveyed the basic education and literacy activities available to Canadians. However, she specifically omitted from her study second language programs for immigrants, choosing to focus primarily on native Canadians in English Canada. Indeed the last attempt to look at the problems of illiterate immigrants appears to have been carried out by MacKenzie and Reimers over a decade ago. Since then, the plight of the illiterate immigrant and the services available to him/her appears not to have been examined in detail. At the time of MacKenzie and Reimers' study, they estimated that 3.3 million Canadians were unable to read or write effectively: in 1981 the figure is 3.5 million. Clearly, the "problem" of illiteracy has not been solved for either Canadian-born individuals or immigrants.

In the 1971 Census data reviewed by Sheila Arnopoulos (1979) the polarization of immigrants at the ends of the educational spectrum was evident. On the one hand there were skilled, highly educated immigrants working mainly in the high-paying professional and technical occupations and on the other hand, there were the unskilled immigrant labourers working mainly in the low-paying manufacturing and service jobs. Data from the latest Census are now available. Do they reflect the changes to the Immigration Act and policies over the last decade which have attempted to restrict immigration to those who offered skills needed to meet the prevailing demands of the labour market? Are immigrants arriving in the last ten years less likely to have literacy problems than immigrants arriving in earlier decades?

This study will attempt to address some of the basic information gaps concerning immigrants to Canada - their literacy problems and the solutions which are available to them. In the first place we will examine some of the popular definitions of literacy with a view to finding one that might be a goal for all illiterates in Canada irrespective of their birthplace.

Next, the latest Census data will be analysed to highlight any apparent immigration trends and characteristics of immigrants in terms of: linguistic and ethnic background, education and income. The occupations in which immigrants are found will be analysed to establish not only where immigrants work but where illiterates work.

The jurisdiction over language and literacy education for immigrants is by no means clear cut. Both the Federal Government and the Provincial Governments have roles to play. Their policies will be examined to find out the priority that each level of government accords to literacy activities, particularly for adult immigrants.

Around the world different approaches to illiteracy have been taken: from Cuba's all-out effort to banish illiteracy in 1961 to the United Kingdom's well-publicised Literacy Campaign of the 1970's. What can Canada learn from the methods, approaches, strategies, policies and mistakes of other countries?

Immigrants to Canada experience problems which inhibit their ability to take advantage of educational opportunities offered to all Canadians. The range of these problems and their effect on determining the educational needs of immigrants will be discussed. Lastly, some of the responses to immigrants in Canada will be considered. In particular we will describe certain of the community-based language and literacy programs set up to overcome educational barriers and meet the identified needs of immigrants in their communities.

CHAPTER 2 : A QUESTION OF DEFINITION

> How is literacy defined ? That depends upon the point of departure and the intended destination (Dauzat & Dauzat, 1977 p.40).

1. INTRODUCTION

No universally applicable definition of literacy is possible. The notion of literacy is meaningful only in a specified context. Some definitions are relevant to the nations of the Third World at particular points in their development whereas others relate to the conditions in advanced technological nations. Thus, a person who is regarded as literate in one culture or one aspect of a culture may be regarded as illiterate in another and vice versa. Any attempt to define literacy must be related to the social, economic and political conditions of a particular society and the individuals who make up that society. To search for a unique definition is to misunderstand the relative nature of literacy when considered from a world-wide perspective.

1.1 What literacy skills are demanded in Canadian society?

Canada is an advanced technological society grounded in democratic principles which assume a literate electorate capable of making informed decisions. It has two official languages, French and English, in which most documents are published. Although certain materials are translated into other languages, the only kinds of literacy that are directly relevant to the mainstream of society are official language literacies. Very recently there has been an increase in the literacy expectations of society in North America. Not only is a higher standard of literacy skill expected in a changed environment but the vast majority of citizens are supposed to perform at this level (Resnick & Resnick, 1977 p.384). What definition will be a suitable for mass literacy in Canada ? First, let us consider some of the uses of literacy in Canada.

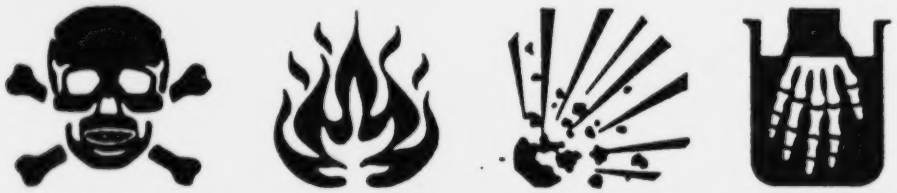
A Look at Some of the Uses of Literacy in Canada

At the most simple level, one must be able to both read and write one's own name in the Roman alphabet. Signing one's name is expected in contractual operations- from writing a cheque to finalizing a lease.

A certain amount of survival sight-vocabulary must be familiar: for example, knowing the significance of the "reculez" sign on the exit ramp of a highway, or in English Canada distinguishing between a sign saying "no entry" and another saying "exit ".

Even the most menial jobs are advertised in the "Help Wanted" section of the newspapers. Employers expect workers to be able to fill in an application form and sign at the bottom to confirm that what has been written is accurate and complete.

Manufacturers encourage consumers to buy their products by advertising in both electronic and print media. However, when it comes to instructional material that describes how the product is used and possible hazards involved if not used correctly, the information is presented only in written form. Written warning labels appear on medicines and poisons. Relatively few manufacturers have adopted the internationally recognized symbols to indicate possible danger.



Being able to read or write brief letters, notes or messages is also important. For example, parents with school-age children may receive from or may have to write notes to the teacher about the welfare of their children. They may also want to understand the work that their children bring home from school.

All the literacy tasks mentioned above might be classified as survival or basic literacy tasks requiring minimal reading and writing abilities. Other skills are essential for independent living.

For example, to obtain a driver's licence, the Driver's Manual has to be grappled with. Both Ontario and B.C., recognizing the complexity of the material to be covered, have written simplified manuals at about 6 grade levels below the reading level of the generally distributed publications. Tackling the standard manual requires a high degree of reading ability. Unfamiliar material has to be mastered. Information must be located and related to that found in other parts of the text. Some of the questions on the Driver's Examination may require the examinee not merely to regurgitate what was written, but may require the examinee to go beyond the stated information and infer additional facts.

The skills required to comply with the requirements of the Unemployment Insurance Commission, a topical example, also illustrates the need for advanced literacy skills among Canadian citizens. The processes of application and appeal are usually conducted through the mail. A high level of reading ability is needed to understand the regulations concerning eligibility for benefits and lucid written skills are necessary if one is

required to document an explanation of one's circumstances. Those unable or too intimidated to meet these requirements may not obtain benefits to which they are entitled, or may not be granted the appeal they seek.

2. A HIERARCHY OF DEFINITIONS OF LITERACY

There is an endless array of definitions of literacy. The discussion which follows will examine only five definitions which represent points on the continuum from initial to technical literacy. This continuum has been characterized in Table 1. It starts with low-level skills and proceeds to higher-level skills. The appropriateness of each definition as a goal for mass literacy in Canada will be assessed. (Each definition has been assigned a label for purposes of clarity.)

TABLE 1 : A HIERARCHY OF DEFINIITIONS OF LITERACY

1. INITIAL LITERACY : "ability to write one's own name." (Resnick & Resnick, 1977 p 371).

Characteristics	Appropriateness to Canada
1. Use Roman alphabet 2. Write own name 3. Recognize own name	1. An initial skill but of limited usefullness on its own.

2. BASIC LITERACY : ability to "read and write a short simple sentence on..everyday life." (Thomas, 1983 p.19).

Characteristics	Appropriateness to Canada
1. Basic reading/writing. 2. Simple, familiar material.	1. Basic literacy skills 2. Starting point for literacy activities.

3. SURVIVAL LITERACY : "ability to read, write and comprehend texts on familiar subjects and to understand whatever signs,labels, instructions and directions are necessary to get along within one's environment." (Hunter & Harman, 1979 p.1).

Characteristics	Appropriateness to Canada
1. Basic reading/writing. 2. Survival literacy skills. 3. Reading for vital information. 4. Familiar material.	1. Essential skills for survival. 2. Insufficient for participation in mainstream society. 3. Insufficient for independent learning and growth.

TABLE 1 contd....

4. FUNCTIONAL LITERACY: "the possession of skills perceived as necessary by particular persons and groups to fulfill their own self-determined objectives as family and community members, citizens, consumers, job-holders, and members of social, religious, or other associations of their choosing. This includes the ability to obtain information they want and use that information for their own and others' well-being; the ability to read and write adequately to satisfy the requirements they set for themselves as being important for their own lives; the ability to deal positively with demands made on them by society; and the ability to solve the problems they face in their daily lives." (Hunter & Harman, 1979 p. 1 : their emphasis).

Characteristics	Appropriateness to Canada
1. unfamiliar material	1.Meets most of the demands of society.
2. reading for information	2.Allows for flexibility of individual goals.
3. transfer of knowledge to new contexts/applications.	3.An adequate foundation for independent learning and development.
4. adequate writing	
5. problem solving	
6. cope with demands of society.	
7. reading to learn.	

5. TECHNICAL LITERACY : acquisition of a body of theoretical or technical knowledge and the development of problem-solving capacities within that specialized field..

Characteristics	Appropriateness to Canada
1. Specialized technical knowledge.	1. An unrealistic goal for mass literacy.
2. Abstract critical capacities	2. Essential knowledge for specialists
3. Problem-solving abilities within field of knowledge.	

The first definition (1) is labelled INITIAL LITERACY. Recognizing one's own name and learning to write it is one of the first literacy skills that children enjoy learning, and one of the literacy tasks that immigrants unfamiliar with the Roman alphabet, must accomplish. The majority of Canadians do this effortlessly. However, there are definite dangers in signing your name to a document you cannot understand. As a literacy goal, this definition is clearly inadequate in today's world.

BASIC LITERACY (2) is more relevant to contemporary society. The ability to read and write simple sentences in either English or French is a first step and thus an early objective of literacy training in Canada. However, this particular definition was more appropriate in a situation such as Cuba's in 1960 when 25% of the population could neither read nor write (Kozol, 1978 p.5). Cuba attempted to banish illiteracy in one year. BASIC LITERACY was its short-term goal. Instead of raising the level of literacy of a few Cubans to a very high level, the objective was to make all Cubans literate using a fairly weak criterion of literacy. BASIC LITERACY is only a beginning goal for the demands of Canadian society in the 1980's and 1990's. Canadian society and its literacy bound nature, demands a much stronger criterion than was appropriate to Cuba in 1961.

SURVIVAL LITERACY (3) encompasses the basic elements necessary to cope with one's environment. For immigrants who lack a knowledge of English or French and the relevant cultural clues of this society ,this level of literacy is an early priority (Freitag and Weber, 1979). It is not a sufficient foundation for further growth and learning, however. One needs to be able to cope with unfamiliar material and have the strategies to attack new words and new concepts. A survival level of literacy might help you to avoid poisoning yourself or driving up the "down" ramp on the highway, but it would not provide you with the literacy skills necessary to learn independently or participate in the life of mainstream society.

FUNCTIONAL LITERACY (4) is a more appropriate definition as a goal for mass literacy in Canada. It is a flexible definition that tries to take individual needs and differences and differing circumstances into account. As such, it represents a fairly strong criterion going beyond mere survival to encompass the demands of society and the requirements of individuals in all the various roles they play as adults in Canada. It is a definition which recognizes the necessity of dealing with unfamilar text; the need to read for information; to gain benefit from the application and use of that information to solve problems. It recognizes that in our current society Canadians need to be able to both read and write and that different people will experience differing standards and demands in this respect.

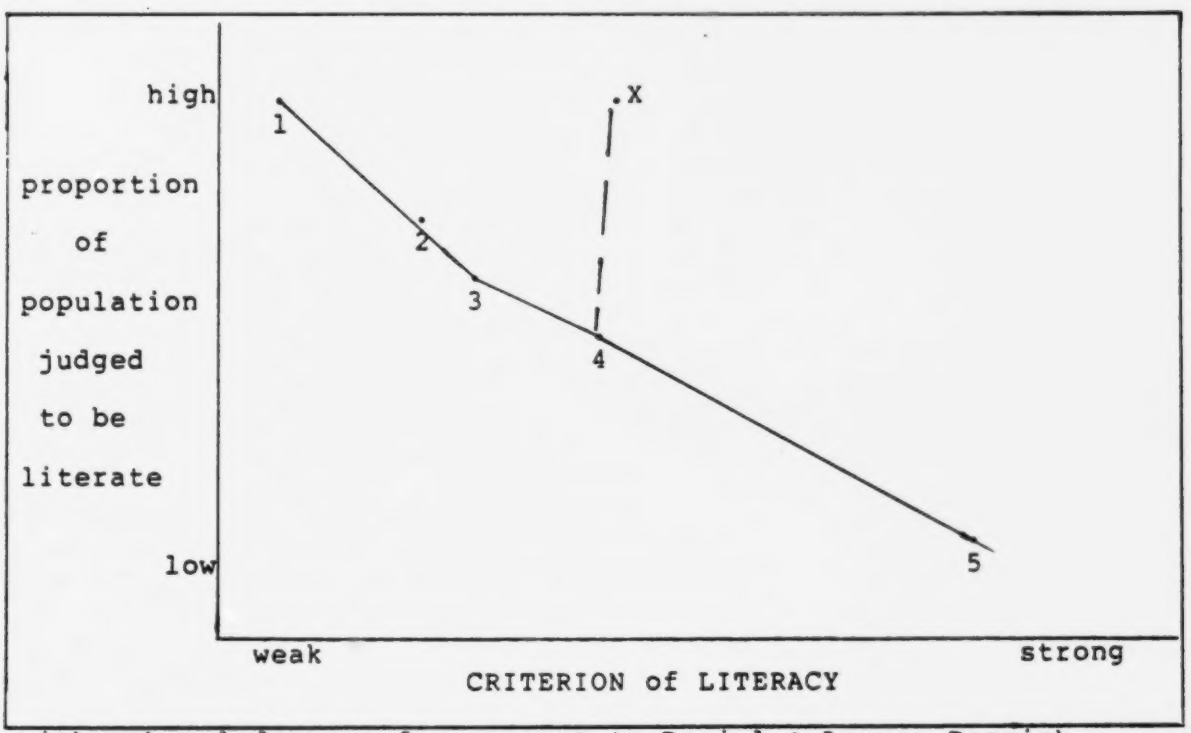
TECHNICAL LITERACY (5) is in a different category. This level is required by a group of specialists who are skilled in a particular field of knowledge. These skills are required to facilitate the development of the society in specific domains but are likely to remain the province of the few. To a certain extent we are all illiterate in some spheres in that there are areas of knowledge where the specialized and technical vocabulary is unfamiliar and incomprehensible to us. However, to acquire even these technical literacies an underlying foundation of literacy skills is needed. Functional literacy is a stepping stone to, or prerquisite for achievingt technical literacy.

In order to provide a graphic representation of the range of levels of literacy skill manifested by Canadians, Figure 1 has been included. The vertical axis represents the proportion of the population- from low to high- judged to be literate by society. The horizontal axis represents the strength of the particular criterion of literacy under consideration, from strong criteria to weak criteria. The solid-lined graph thus indicates the probable levels of literacy possessed by different groups of Canadians. The points (1-5) denote the relative positions of the different definitions outlined above.

For example, the point 1 demonstrates that definition `1', (INITIAL LITERACY -a weak criterion of literacy), is probably possessed by a high proportion of Canadians. On the other hand, point 4 demonstrates that definition`4' (FUNCTIONAL LITERACY- a relatively strong criterion of literacy) is possessed by a much smaller number.

The definition most relevant to the mass of Canadians is definition `4' (FUNCTIONAL LITERACY). However, the graph indicates that the majority of Canadians do not possess this level of literacy and that literacy activities should aim at a goal of point X so that the a very high proportion of Canadians could operate at this level of literacy.

FIGURE 1: AN ESTIMATE OF THE PROPORTION OF CANADIANS JUDGED LITERATE ACCORDING TO DIFFERENT LEVELS OF LITERACY



with acknowledgement for concept to Daniel & Lauren Resnick.

3. HOW MANY FUNCTIONAL ILLITERATES ARE THERE IN CANADA ?

> Unfortunately there is no adequate measuring device available when it comes to quantifying literacy on a large scale (Thomas, 1983 p.19).

The complexity of the problem of estimating the extent of functional illiteracy according to a specific definition has been discussed at length elsewhere (Bormuth, 1975; Dauzat & Dauzat 1977; Thomas, 1976, 1983). No one method is foolproof. All are fraught with problems. Thus, at best, a rough estimate of the extent of the literacy problem can be attempted.

In the past several methods have been employed. These can be divided into **direct measures** and **indirect measures.** Direct measures attempt to make an assessment of what individuals in the population can and cannot do. The specific skills deemed essential to function in a particular society are defined ; a representative sample of tasks selected and administered to a representative sample of that population, resulting in a measure of the competence level of the individuals in the society at large. Indirect measures on the other hand, use a social indicator of trends within in the society as a tool to estimate the extent of a particular problem. For example, statistics on the proportion of children enrolled in school, or the educational attainment of the population are often considered. Both kinds of method have their particular advantages and disadvantages. The main direct measures will be considered first.

4. DIRECT MEASURES

4.1 Ask relevant questions.

The most obvious way of deciding whether someone is illiterate or not is to ask him/her. In the past the Canadian Census included the question "Can you read and write?" Unfortunately the answer to the question does not tell you very much. Each person has his own idea of what being able to read and write entails. Some people lie. In the final analysis the data obtained are unlikely to be reliable, generalizable, or useful. The question was dropped from Canada's Census in the 1930's (Thomas, 1983 p.20).

4.2 Tests of Reading Achievement

Standardized tests have been designed to measure an individual's reading ability. Bormuth (1975) points out that literacy is a two sided coin. On one side there is the reading ability of the members of a population, on the other there is the level of difficulty of the printed material that the population must read. If the overall reading level of the population is too low with respect to the material they must cope with two solutions are available. The first is to try to improve the

reading skill of those citizens who are below the norm. The second is to reduce the complexity, thus improving the readability, of material published (Bormuth, p.66). In both cases an assessment of the level of complexity of printed matter and a measure of the reading skills possessed by the population must be made. In order to demonstrate the current level of published materials in Canada Figure 2 has been included. The advantages and disadvantages of using an assessment of the reading ability of the adult population as a tool to determine the extent of functional illiteracy in that population will be discussed below.

Advantages

Firstly, both reading and writing are integral parts of literacy. The level of reading skill an individual possesses is likely to be an important factor in determining his level of literacy (Bormuth p.66; Dauzat & Dauzat, p38).

Secondly, it is desirable to focus on the relationship, mentioned above, between the readability of the print materials in a society and the reading level of members of that society. At the extremes, if all materials were written at a very simple level, a lower level of reading proficiency would be adequate. As figure 2 show, many common print materials are written at a high level.

Disadvantages

According to Bormuth, most standardized tests used to assess reading skill were developed and standardized on children. It seems likely that a certain reading level attained by an adult on a particular test does not have the same significance as that level achieved by a child on the same test.

Secondly, the types of reading tasks involved in reading tests are significantly different from those one is faced with in daily life. It is probably not possible to generalize from results on standardized tests to performance on everyday reading tasks -like studying the driver's manual or reading the "Help Wanted" section of the daily newspaper.

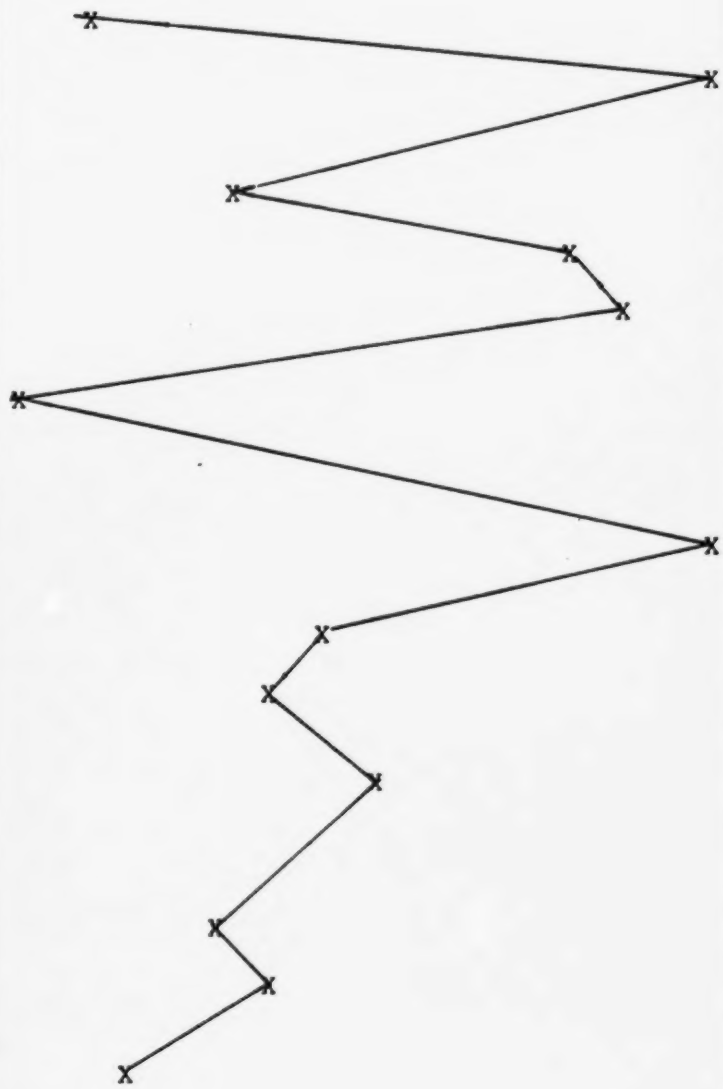
Thirdly, reading is not the only skill essential for functional literacy. Writing and problem-solving are but two aspects that a reading test would not measure.

Fourth, although standardized tests demonstrate a deficiency they neither specify the nature of the deficiency nor indicate a remedial course of action.

Lastly, conducting a survey of the scale necessary to provide a reliable picture of the skills of Canadians would be an expensive undertaking.

FIGURE 2: THE READABILITY OF SOME COMMON PRINT MATERIALS

Grade level	6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20
SOURCE	
The Montreal GAZETTE	
Ann Landers	
Charles Lynch	
Provincial Governments	
Quebec Tax Guide	
Quebec Driver's Manual	
Ontario Driver's Manual	
Ontario Driver's Manual (Adapted for New Readers)	
Federal Government	
A Guide for Canadians: The Charter of Rights & Freedoms	
U.I.C. Benefit Statement	
Income Tax Guide	
Health & Welfare Pamphlet on Family Allowances & Child Tax Credit.	
Banks	
Mastercard statement	
VISA information	
Instructions for using the GREEN MACHINE	
	6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20



Implications

An assessment of the reading skills of the adult Canadian population would certainly add to our knowledge of their literacy capabilities. It might sensitize writers to the idea that to communicate vital information to certain target audiences they must simplify their message . The simplification of print materials aimed at the general public has merit (as do multi-lingual messages) if it improved the comprehensibility of much of the material it has to grapple with. However, it is not economically feasible or desirable to simplify (or translate into numerous languages) all materials. Without an effort to improve the overall reading ability of the population, such simplification may, in the long-term, serve to further widen the gap between those who read proficiently and those who do not.

To conclude, the use of standardized tests as a tool to estimate the number of functional illiterates in the population would be ineffective and expensive.

4.3 A Test of Functional Competence

The United States and Great Britain have both attempted to define the skills that are necessary for functional literacy. Tasks that have been included in performance tests of adults were described by R.J. Kedney (n.d. p.21):

U.S.	U.K.
1. Telephone dialling instructions	1. Labels
2. Classified Advertisements	2. Newspaper articles
3. Forms for Social Security	3. Envelope reading
4. Forms for Medicare	4. Postcard writing
5. Forms for UIC benefit	5. Instructions for wiring a plug
6. Forms for driver's licence	6. A knitting pattern
7. Forms for passport application	

In 1975 the Adult Performance Level (APL) test was administered to a representative group of Americans using sophisticated sampling techniques. The results were that 20% of Americans could not "cope with everyday skills" and a further 34% were "functional but not proficient" (cited by Thomas, 1976 p.1). The U.S. Office of Education inferred that 57 million Americans did not have "skills adequate to perform basic tasks" such as writing a cheque, addressing an envelope, or reading a simple notice (Hunter & Harman, 1979 p.27).

The application of this approach, using functional tests, has inherent advantages and disadvantages.

Advantages

In the first place, the tasks in a test of functional competence represent real, everyday tasks taken from the spectrum of literacy demands individuals have to meet. (Refer to the examples quoted above from U.S and U.K.)

Secondly, at the level of the individual, a test of functional competence helps to give information of what reading problems are being experienced. It demonstrates directly where an individual's weaknesses lie and suggest the kinds of tasks s/he must learn to perform in order to overcome the weaknesses.

Finally, the impact on society of discovering that a high proportion of the population cannot accomplish these simple tasks is shocking and tangible and therefore may promote remedial action.

Disadvantages

The main disadvantages concern the difficulty and expense of achieving a representative sample of tasks and respondents. Functional illiteracy cannot be assessed over the phone or through the mail; a face-to-face interview is the only viable means of administering such a test adequately. Illiterates are a hard-to-reach population being overrepresented among the sick, the aged, the incarcerated, and those living in the ghettoes and the rural areas.

Secondly, as a tool for identifying functional illiterates, a performance-based test is only as good as the objectives defined as being essential for functional literacy. Critics claim that the objectives in the APL research were set by academics and teachers and as such were "value-laden". Hard-core illiterates had no input "in defining what they understood as necessary for adult life" (Hunter & Harman, 1979 p. 18).

Finally, performing a task in a test situation is substantially different from performing the same task in real life. It is likely that the individuals unaccustomed to being tested might panic or alternatively pay more attention than they normally do and in neither case would the results accurately reflect reality.

Implications

A direct measure of functional competence would represent an improvement over indirect measures if sufficient care and sensitivity were applied in setting the objectives and arriving at a representative sample. In the long run, when the currently used criterion becomes obsolete, such a study will be essential to provide a benchmark and indicate the extent of the deficiencies in the population. Its results would probably prove to be political dynamite. However, its cost in time and money would be substantial.

5. INDIRECT MEASURES

UNESCO provides guidelines on methods of collecting data relevant to illiteracy. Among the indirect measures suggested are the extent of school enrollment and educational attainment of the population. The former is a better indicator applied to a country lacking universal free elementary and secondary education. In the case of Canada, educational attainment is more appropriate but not without its shortcomings.

5.1 Level of Educational Attainment

Attainment of a grade 9 level of education is thought to be the minimal level required in Canada for functional literacy. Therefore having less than a grade 9 level of attainment has come to be the most acceptable and widely used tool for estimating the numbers of functional illiterates in the Canadian population. The advantages of this index far outweigh the disadvantages, but caution must be exercised in its use.

Advantages

The main reason why this criterion has been so widely used in Canada is its ease of application. Large quantities of accessible data on Canadian residents with less than a grade 9 level of education are available in the form of the Census of Canada. It is a cheap way of estimating the proportions of the literacy problem in Canada.

Very few data are provided in the Census on individuals with only a grade 1 - 5 education. However, for Canadian residents with less than a grade 9 level of education the Census provides details of: sex, age, occupation, labour force participation, income, mother tongue, ethnic origin, and period of immigration, among others.

The application of this criterion tends to identify the population where functional illiterates are most likely to occur and thus provides a credible estimate.

Lastly, reading and writing and other related skills do form the basis of the formal school curriculum. Curriculum planners include life skills as an essential component to be taught and practised at some point in elementary or secondary school.

Disadvantages

The disadvantages mainly concern ways in which the application of this criterion leads to an underestimation of the proportions of the problem or erroneous conclusions about progress.

Firstly, the extent of the problem among young people tends to be obscured. For example, some people manage to pass grade 9

without becoming literate and thus are not included in estimates of the size of the target group. On the other hand, there is a likelihood that acquired literacy skills atrophy. Consequently, some of those with levels of educational attainment in excess of grade 9 do not perform at the expected level.

In addition people with a grade 8 education who embark on vocational courses are usually not counted among those with less than a grade 9 education. Such people are often from the ranks of the poor and were "diagnosed as dumb (and) placed in the bottom stream" (Gaber-Katz,1983 p.56).

Secondly, it is misleading and erroneous to equate the proportion of the population having less than a grade 9 education with a rate of functional illiteracy. For example, the drop in the proportion of the population having less than a grade 9 education from the 1971 Census to the 1981 Census mainly reflects demographic change- a decrease in the number of people born before the advent of compulsory secondary education. If a demographic change is the principal factor effecting the drop in the proportion of the functional illiterates in the population, little credit can be claimed. The measure is not sensitive enough to reflect real "progress": that is, illiterate people being made literate over time.

Furthermore, people who have achieved functional literacy through informal programs and without acquiring a grade 9 equivalence will not be reflected in the statistics. Some individuals achieve functional literacy without a grade 9 education as is witnessed by the numbers of people with little formal schooling who appear in the "professional occupations". This true progress will never be reflected in the "literacy rate" under discussion.

Finally, the criterion for functional literacy has to be updated from time to time to reflect the increasing literacy demands of the society. In 1961, the Dominion Bureau of Statistics defined functional illiteracy as "pertaining to less than five years of schooling" (Thomas, 1976 p.2). However, the Canadian Association for Adult Education revised this to less than a grade 9 level of education in 1975. It is likely that there will always be some kind of lag and a constant need for updating the criterion.

Theoretically the functional illiteracy problem could be defined away if the grade 9 criterion were maintained. Older people form a large part of the target population as a result of lower levels of educational attainment prior to World War II. Because of the mortality rate of this part of the population the number of people with less than a grade 9 level of education will tend to decline to a low level. But will the problem have disappeared?

Implications

While it is acknowledged that the level of educational attainment of an individual tends to give some indication of his/her level of literacy, the use of the grade 9 criteria can be misleading and underestimate the extent of the literacy problem in Canada in a variety of ways. In particular, the proportion of the population with less than a grade 9 level of education cannot be equated with a rate for functional illiteracy: little real progress is likely to be reflected in changes in this "rate". Canada has already shown the need to redefine the criterion and set it higher and therefore what is likely to happen is that the grade level criterion for literacy will be set at increasingly higher levels from time to time.

The availability of reliable data on aspects of the target population published in the Census of Canada, make the continued cautious use of the criteria productive.

TABLE 2 : SUMMARY OF MAIN METHODS OF ESTIMATING FUNCTIONALLY ILLITERATE POPULATION

INDIRECT MEASURE : GRADE 9 CRITERION

ADVANTAGES	DISADVANTAGES
1. Ease of application	1. Underestimates problem
2. Accessible data	2. Excludes vocational trainees
3. Credible estimate	3. Proportion not = rate
4. Reading/Writing + are part of school curriculum.	4. Progress not reflected
	5. Problem will be defined away over time.

IMPLICATION

Grade 9 criterion gives credible estimate but caution must be exercised as it tends to underestimate the proportions of the problem within a population.

2. DIRECT MEASURES : a) READING ABILITY

ADVANTAGES	DISADVANTAGES
1. Reading key factor in literacy.	1. Tests standardized on children.
2. Relationship of readability and reading ability crucial.	2. Tasks not everyday type.
	3. Reading is not only skill in literacy.
	4. Expensive

IMPLICATION

This measure would add to knowledge on abilities of Canadians and would provide useful information for writers of documents aimed at the general public. However, it is expensive and not a sufficiently comprehensive measure of literacy.

b) A TEST OF FUNCTIONAL COMPETENCE

ADVANTAGES	DISADVANTAGES
1. Realistic reading tasks.	1. Expensive to get sample.
2. Powerful data.	2. Difficult to establish representative objectives.
	3. Test performance not = everyday performance.

IMPLICATIONS

A very expensive and time consuming method. However, if objectives and sample were truly representative politically explosive data might result. In the long-run such a measure must be attempted to establish a benchmark.

6. MULTIPLE PROBLEMS OF UNDER-EDUCATED ADULTS

According to the Canadian Fact Book on Poverty-1983, nearly 4 million Canadians are "poor, or near poor" (Ross, 1983 p.41). 75% of families with no earner -those receiving welfare, pensions or U.I.C.- live below the poverty line as do 66% of "female single-parent families with children" (p.30). Although the study cited above provides no data on the educational characteristics of the poor the recent Census data confirms that low educational attainment and low income correlate highly. It is likely that the poor and the illiterate populations overlap considerably.

In a different context- the United States - researchers have observed that the poor suffer from multiple problems: as well as being poor, they tend to be unemployed, ill-housed and lack education, in particular literacy skills. Thus, as Hunter and Harman observe, literacy is seldom an illiterate's chief objective or his main concern (1979, p.9). Many illiterates are trapped in lives characterized by profound poverty and unemployment. Illiteracy is only one problem among many that they have to cope with on a day-to-day basis. Illiteracy is a symptom of their economic circumstances rather than a cause of their poverty.

Workers at the Appalachian Adult Education Center (AAEC) in the United States supplied a description of "disadvantaged adults" based on empirical evidence. Their classifications are reported to have helped explain other educators' experiences working with similar groups, and perhaps are applicable to the Canadian experience. Hunter and Harman (1979) saw these groupings as "a broad spectrum with overlapping groups and persons" but they were able to identify "four focal points" which demonstrate the need for a wide range of educational strategies (p.110).

A one end of the spectrum of illiterates are those who share the values of the main cultural group in the United States: characterized by "`secure' and `self-directed' persons who respond well to group activities as well as individualized instruction and are open to recruitment through the media" (Hunter & Harman, 1979 p.55). The researchers observed that members of this group (1) were usually employed and lived among literate and upwardly mobile people. They could well benefit from "traditional classroom patterns" of educational upgrading.

Members of the second group have "far more serious educational deficiencies" (Hunter & Harman p. 111), having left school even earlier than those in group 1. The researchers observe that some have never learned to read or write yet the social groups they belong to take literacy for granted. They tend to enjoy less economic and personal security, often have large families, seasonal jobs and must work overtime a great deal. Both groups 1 and 2 are likely to be reached by traditional literacy campaigns. These are the people about whom "success" stories are often written - the success being contributed to as

much by personal and social/societal factors as the literacy instruction itself.

Group 3 is characterized by "persons who suffer from multiple deprivations" (Hunter & Harman p. 112). It is made up of those who can obtain nothing but low-paying, short-term jobs. Included among this group are recent immigrants who lack both official language skills and formal education as well as those who speak non-standard dialects. If this group is to respond to the provision of literacy training, classes must be offered at times and in places to suit the learner and the pressures of his/her life.

The last group "consists of those most in need of, and yet least accessible to service". The AAEC dubs them the "stationary poor" (Hunter & Harman, p.55), other authors have called them the "invisible" poor. This group is also made up of English and non-English speakers and according to Hunter and Harman they lack hope. They have "given up believing that anything they can do will make a difference" to their lives(p.113).

The conclusions that we can draw from this research are that a majority of those who come forward for literacy training are likely to come from groups 1 & 2. The other groups probably have priorities that are more crucial to their immediate survival. In general, the only literacy training available is offered by precisely the same school boards and school system that rejected them or failed them in the first place. In order to reach the 12 out of 13 that even "successful" campaigns -by the standards of developed nations- fail to serve, a flexible and far-reaching effort must be made; not just in terms of education but in policies that will provide work and restore hope. Community colleges offering ESL/Literacy in Canada tend to employ the strategy of "see who comes" which appears to attract those who have already benefited from educational opportunities (Selman, 1979 p.22). To reach those most in need of literacy training certain barriers to access must first be overcome.

7. IMMIGRANTS IN CANADA

If the goal of providing equal opportunity is to be achieved, access to education must be a reality for immigrants as well as native born residents of Canada. Literacy training activities in Canada are currently not reaching a fraction of those in need. To reach the mass of illiterates the development of long-range policies is essential. Alternative approaches and adequate funding are needed to meet the literacy needs of all Canadian residents. Immigrants, for whom neither English nor French is their mother tongue, experience particular problems and need special training to overcome them prior to taking advantage of programs designed for English/French speaking residents. For FUNCTIONAL LITERACY to be a realistic goal for all immigrants, mastery of one of Canada's official languages is a prerequisite.

In a study of Immigrant Women in the Canadian labour force, Sheila Arnopoulos (1979) observed that immigrants tend to be

clustered at both ends of the educational spectrum. Many are highly educated, skilled individuals. The majority are unskilled or lack formal education. Just as there are different kinds of literacy, there are different kinds of illiterates. Each of these groups needs different kinds of training relevant to their language and ethnic background and level of education on arrival. Immigrants will be divided into two goups according to their level of formal education on arrival. Those having less than a grade 9 level of schooling will be called undereducated. Those immigrants with a formal education above grade 9 in their native land will be called educated.

7.1 Educated Immigrants.

Immigrants with a grade 9 level of education in their mother tongue will probably be literate in that language. They will possess reading and writing skills which they may be able to apply to the problem of acquiring literacy in one of the official languages of Canada. The extent that reading and writing skills can be transfered is partially attributable to the language background of the learner. People who speak languages employing the Roman alphabet and who are fully literate in that language do not tend to experience problems learning to read in English or French and generally derive immediate benefit from language training.

Literate individuals with language backgrounds which employ non-Roman alphabets, such as Greek, Hebrew, Arabic and Russian, or pictograms, Chinese for example and who are totally unfamiliar with the Roman alphabet need specific training, extra time, careful teaching and plenty of practice with the alphabet before they can operate effectively as members of a class containing learners accustomed to the Roman alphabet.

The alphabet itself takes time to master. Learning the distinctive features of unfamiliar letters is made particularly difficult when no universal form is used. Typefaces vary, and Canadian handwriting is by no means systematic in letter formation. Some examples of the letter `G' or `g' may illustrate this point.

Learning the appropriate alphabet is only one task, of course. There are many pre-literacy skills to be acquired before reading can be attempted. (Haverson, Selman, Longfield and Ebersole Strauch give examples of such exercises). For example, page orientation varies from culture to culture, certain types of information are located in different places in languages with different conventions and many other aspects of reading are

culture-bound. Sensitive treatment is important ; provision of adequate training essential. This special training is worthwhile only if adequate time is allowed for a learner to acquire skills sufficient for him/her to be able to learn and progress independently after the in-class period is over.

Writing

Competent writing is as important as good reading abilities especially for immigrants destined for work in professional occupations which require a sophisticated level of written communication. While literacy writers often address the problem of the mechanics of writing (for example, Ebersole Strauch (1978, Chapter IV), they rarely consider the rhetorical systems of English or French. For effective communication, simply translating from one language to another is inadequate. It will be unlikely to result in a product that is readily intelligible to mainstream readers. While grammatical accuracy, spelling, etc. contribute to the comprehensibility of a text, organisation of ideas is of paramount importance, without which the most intelligent idea may be obscured. This is something that is not often acquired unconsciously but must be learned. Teaching people frustrated with their inability to communicate their ideas is a challenging task requiring skilled teachers. Kaplan (1966) has best encapsulated the differences between the rhetorical systems of different cultures. His stylized diagrams are reproduced to illustrate the systems he observed.

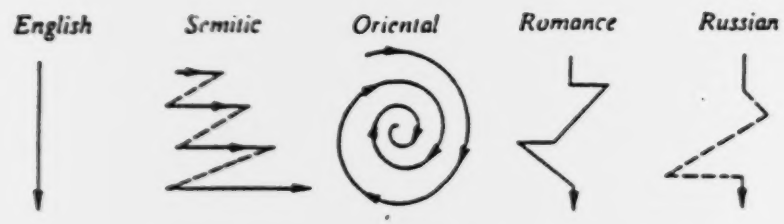


Diagram from Robert B. Kaplan, "Cultural Thought Patterns in Inter-Cultural Education," *Language Learning*, 16, nos. 1 and 2: 15.

7.2 Official Language/ Literacy for Undereducated Immigrants

No less a degree of skill or challenge is needed to help tackle the literacy problems of those undereducated immigrants arriving in Canada.

Immigrants to Canada need a functional knowledge of one of the official languages. To benefit from language courses, gain access to education and to meet the demands of mainstream Canadian society -whether government, business, or community-they need literacy, irrespective of intended occupation. Those who arrive in Canada with less than a grade 9 education are unlikely to possess the reading and writing skills of a fully literate

reader. Thus, they do not have the skills to transfer to learning to read and write in English or French. Such immigrants need special help and skilled teaching to facilitate the acquisition of skills that will allow them to cope with the activities in language classes and read independently. One common way to classify illiterates is to label three distinct groups: pre-literates, non-literates, and semi-literates.

Pre-Literates

Pre-literates are individuals who speak a language that has no written form - or no popularly written form. Consequently they require extensive literacy orientation concurrent with language training. The arrival of the Indochinese refugees in 1979 and 1980 highlighted the fact special training is required to allow those with no prior exposure to literacy to develop a functional level which allows them to cope with daily living in Canadian society.

Non-Literates

Non-literates are people who have not acquired reading and writing skills in their own language but who speak a language which has a written form. These people are often used to seeing print in their own societies but are not capable of processing it. Their needs are slightly different from those of pre-literates in that they will probably be aware of some of the uses of literacy - although by no means all.

Semi-Literates

Semi-literate immigrants have reached only a basic level of literacy in their own language. These people are often familiar with the concept of letters and words and even sentences; know some sight vocabulary; perhaps understand the relationship between the written and the spoken word, but do not have the skills to progress, attack new words, or to glean information from unfamiliar material.

In addition to these categories their are Non-Roman Alphabetics. Individuals who speak languages employing a non-Roman alphabet and are not literate in their native language may fall into any of the above three categories.

CONCLUSION

Examination of the definitions of literacy have shown a definition such as FUNCTIONAL LITERACY which takes into account the individual's as well as the community's wants and needs is a suitable goal for mass literacy training in Canada. It will be the working definition for the rest of this study.

Because the definition and measurement of functional literacy involves a complex procedure of identifying skills and putting individuals into situations in which they can demonstrate whether or not they possess the skills being considered, there is a tendency for researchers to seek a simpler index of functional literacy while appearing to retain the robustness of this concept. This has led researchers to select grade level completed as an assumed predictor of functional literacy. The grade level adopted is Grade 8. (i.e. Anyone having less than a grade 9 is estimated to be functionally illiterate.) We have already demonstrated that as a measure of functional literacy, an indirect index such as grade level is too weak, too impressive, too fraught with uncertainties to be of value. There is as yet no adequate index of functional literacy to be obtained using indirect measures. The only way to measure functional literacy is by the use of an appropriate performance test which requires the individual to perform tasks of the kind that constitute the real-life activities s/he would have to engage in successfully in real-life.

For reasons of expediency, and because no other direct index is available the criterion of having less than a a grade 9 education will be used in other parts of the study to estimate and analyse aspects of the functionally illiterate population. It must be recognized, however, that its use tends to underestimate the scope of the problem, particularly among young Canadians and immigrants who lack official language skills. It is not a direct measure and therefore it is not sensitive to real progress nor does it take account of persons made functionally literate outside the school system. Equating the functional illiteracy rate with the percentage of people 15+ not attending school full-time who have less than a grade 9 education has lead to erroneous conclusions. For example a decrease in the proportion of the population with less than a grade 9 education can hardly be called progress - especially if most had died in the intervening period.

In order to function and participate in Canadian society all residents irrespective of race, creed, sex age, or immigration class (familiy, refugee, independent, etc.) need official language and literacy skills up to the minimal level of FUNCTIONAL LITERACY. To accomplish this, training is required that takes into account the differing language, ethnic and educational backgrounds of different groups of people, and which responds sensitively to the strengths of each individual and capitalizes on his accumulated knowledge as an adult.

CHAPTER 3: A SOCIOECONOMIC PROFILE OF ADULT IMMIGRANT ILLITERATES

> The available statistics - however inaccurate, distorted, culturally biased, and occasionally contradictory they may be - do have a kind of gross truth (Hunter & Harman, 1979, p.24).

The purpose of this statistical section is to identify the functionally illiterate immigrants in the Canadian population and attempt to draw a socio-economic profile of them (summary pp.59-60). The analyses of the Census of Canada (1981) and the most recent immigration statistics should shed some light on the nature of our immigrant population. Recent immigration statistics will be examined in order to assess immigration patterns of the last five years (1978-1982). The Census data will provide a more historical view, considering the population born outside Canada, and those immigrating in the last ten years.

To estimate the size of the functionally illiterate population, an educational criterion will be applied (the population over 15, not attending school with less than a grade 9 educational attainment). This is a rather rough and ready tool since it tends to result in an underestimate of the proportions of the problem, particularly with respect to young people and immigrants lacking official language skills. However, its use facilitates access to a wealth of back-up information from the current Canadian Census.

The 1981 Census of Canada provides data on immigrants having less than a grade 9 level of education. With regard to period of immigration the data are not always comparable throughout the Census: sometimes the period of immigration cited is 1971-1981, and sometimes only 1961-1981 is supplied. Where data are available "recent immigrant" will refer to those immigrating between 1971 and 1981, unless otherwise stated. "Immigrant" will refer to the broader group- those born outside Canada. The terms **illiterate** and **functionally illiterate** will be used interchangably to refer to any state of illiteracy from complete to functional, i.e. any person likely to be lacking literacy adequate to function in mainstream Canadian society. "Target Group" refers to the total Canadian population (15 years and over) with less than a grade 9 level of education, and "Immigrant Target Group" will refer to the illiterate immigrants in the Canadian population.

The main aspects of immigrants' socioeconomic profile which will be covered are:

1. place of origin
2. immigration class
3. Canadian destination
4. linguistic background
5. educational background
6. income
7. participation in the workforce
8. occupation

A great deal of information about immigrants is collected by the Government of Canada during the application for immigrant status phase. Information about mother tongue, official language abilities and educational level are an integral part of the point system which is used to evaluate whether a particular emigrant or refugee is eligible to enter Canada. Little of this information is generally available to the public, however.

Up-to-date information on the origins of immigrants arriving in the last five years is available from Employment and Immigration Canada from the Annual Reports, the Monthly Statistics and the annually published Immigration Statistics. (The data from the CEIC Annual Report, 1982 is not directly comparable with the most recent Immigration Statistics since the fiscal year and the calendar years do not coincide. Thus very recent immigrant will refer to immigrants arriving in the five years 1978/9-1982/3 or 1979-1983, depending on the source of the data.)

1. WHERE DO CANADIAN IMMIGRANTS COME FROM ?

The Census data includes the ethnic origin of the total population. This reflects the historical immigration patterns on which the country was founded. Traditional source countries were Britain, France and U.S.A. Of the 24,083,495 Canadian residents at the time of the 1981 Census, 40% stated that their ethnic origin was British: 26.7% claimed to be of French origin. The figures for North and South America were combined at 0.4% (Census of Canada 1981, Catalogue 93-931, Table3).

Immigration trends in the last five years have not reflected the historical pattern. Table 3 gives data on traditional immigration sources, as represented by the Canadian population born abroad, and sources of recent immigration. Two important trends can be seen. First, the proportion of immigrants from Europe (including the British Isles) has dropped by half: 33% now as opposed to 67% previously. Secondly, Asia has recently become the most important source, at 40%. Other areas have tended to increase, but remain far less important than Europe and Asia.

Actual numbers of immigrants arriving in the years 1978-1982 from various sources is provided in Table 4.

Immigration from the traditional source countries: Great Britain, U.S.A. and France dropped to 25% of the total in 1978-83. However, U.S.A. and U.K. continue to figure among the top six source countries. India, Hong Kong and Vietnam have also been among the top six source countries in each of the last four years. Poland, the Phillipines, China, Laos, and Jamaica are other countries which have figured in the top six recently.(These data are not completely reliable indicators of ethnic origin since often people do not emigrate directly from their home country but from some intermediate point.)

TABLE 3 : A COMPARISON OF THE PROPORTIONS OF IMMIGRANTS ARRIVING 1978-79 to 1982-83 with the PROPORTION of the POPULATION BORN OUTSIDE CANADA by CONTINENT OF ORIGIN

CONTINENT OF ORIGIN	POPULATION BORN OUTSIDE CANADA	IMMIGRANTS 1978/9-82/3
EUROPE	66.8%	32.97%
AFRICA	2.6%	3.65%
ASIA	14.0%	40.36
AUSTRALASIA	0.3%	1.07%
N & CENT.AMERICA	8.5%	9.26%
CARIBBEAN	4.5%	6.56%
S.AMERICA	2.3%	5.19%
OCEANIA	0.5%	0.78%
OTHER/NOT STATED	0.2%	0.15%
TOTAL	100% *	100% *

*Figures may not add up exactly due to rounding.

Source : The data on the Population born outside Canada was summarized from the Census of Canada, 1981 Catalogue 93930, Table 8. The data on immigrants (1978-83) was extracted from the Annual Report of Employment and Immigration Canada 1982-83, Table 24.

TABLE 4 : ORIGINS OF IMMIGRANTS - (1978-79 to 1982-83)

CONTINENT OF ORIGIN	TOTAL	% of TOTAL
EUROPE	194,578	32.97%
AFRICA	21,528	3.65%
ASIA	238,169*	40.36%
AUSTRALASIA	6,315	1.07%
N & CENT.AMERICA	54,637	9.26%
CARIBBEAN	38,747	6.56%
S.AMERICA	30,679	5.19%
OCEANIA	4,611	0.78%
NOT STATED	828	0.15%
TOTAL	590,092	100%

*60,049 of these were Indochinese Refugees arriving in 1979 and 1980.

Source : Extracted from the Annual Report of Employment and Immigration Canada 1982-83, Table 24.

2. WHAT CLASSES OF IMMIGRANTS WERE ADMITTED TO CANADA (1979-83) ?

The immigration statistics present a rather misleading picture of the proportion of refugees admitted to Canada in the five years 1979-1983. It would appear from table 5 that only 9,000 or less than 2% of all immigrants were refugees. In fact these were Convention Refugees admitted in accordance with the United Nations agreement but many other people were accepted on humanitarian grounds, reflecting Canada's concern for the "displaced and the persecuted". These immigrants may be counted in the "designated class", "family class" or as "assisted relatives". It is difficult to establish which of the family class and assisted relatives arrived as refugees but it is evident that **at least 20% of all immigrants were in effect refugees.** The report Indochinese Refugees: The Canadian Response, 1979-1980 stated that 60,049 individuals arrived in 1979 and 1980 (p.24). Most of these were admitted as designated class (p.8). [This number, 60,000, constitutes slightly less than 25% of total Asian immigration 1978/9-1982/3.]

TABLE 5 : IMMIGRATION BY CLASS (1979-1982)

CLASS/ YEAR	Family	Refugee	Designated	Assisted relative	Independ.	TOTAL
1979	38,264	2,090	25,417	6,067	24,334	96,172*
1980	49,171	952	39,396	10,018	38,093	137,630*
1981	51,017	810	14,169	17,590	45,032	128,618
1982	49,980	1,791	15,134	11,948	42,294	121,147
1983	48,538	4,059	9,848	4,986	21,415	88,846
TOTAL	236,970	9,702	103,964	50,609	171,168	572,413*
%TOTAL	41.4%	1.7%	18.2%	8.8%	29.9%	100%

*The 1980 & 1979 annual totals differ from those in the next table (6) because of a change in categorization. Some immigrants were categorized under the 1952 not the 1976 Immigration Act. (The differences were: 1980 -5485; 1979 -15,712.) Data prior to 1979 is not comparable since immigrants were admitted under different categories.

Source : Immigration Monthly Statistics, 1979-1983, Immigration and Demographic Policy Group, Employment and Immigration Canada.

It would seem that only 29.9% of very recent immigrants were independent. This does not imply that only this proportion were "workers," however. Immigrants in all categories but the family class could in fact be destined immediately for the workforce.

At the point of immigration officials classify immigrants into workers and non-workers. The latter group includes spouses not destined for the labour force, children, dependent students and retired persons. Because of the relation between being destined for the workforce and eligibility for CEIC language courses and allowances, it is informative to discover what proportion of immigrants is designated "worker". In the years 1978-1982, **44% of immigrants were "workers"; another 15% were "non-worker" spouses** while the remaining 41% were other accompanying family members including students, children, retired persons or other "dependent" persons (see Table 6).

TABLE 6: WORKERS VERSUS NON-WORKERS

CLASS/ YEAR	WORKERS	NON-WORKERS		TOTAL
		child/retired immigrants	spouses	
1978	35,211	35,276	15,826	86,313
1979	48,234	46,631	17,231	112,096
1980	63,745	60,046	19,326	143,117
1981	56,969	52,632	19,017	128,618
1982	55,472	47,867	17,808	121,147
TOTAL	259,631	242,452	89,208	591,291
%TOTAL	44%	41%	15%	100%

Source: Monthly Statistics (year end summaries)1978-1982, Tables 12 (1978,'80,81), 14 (1979), or 17 (1982).

3. TO WHERE IN CANADA DO THEY IMMIGRATE ?

The provinces of Ontario, Quebec, British Columbia, and Alberta have traditionally received the majority of immigrants to Canada. From the Census data (1981) we see that 92% of all persons born outside Canada live in these four provinces (Catalogue 92-913, Table 1A). This pattern is followed by very recent immigrants to Canada : 90% were destined for the four most populated provinces.

The distribution of the Canadian-born population, those born outside the country and very recent immigrants is not even. The most significant difference is between the two most populated provinces, Ontario and Quebec. Ontario accounts for 35% of the total Canadian population, but 52% of the population born outside Canada. This proportion has fallen slightly in recent years with 44% of very recent immigrants settling in Ontario.

Quebec accounts for 25% of the total population, but 13% of the population born outside Canada; the proportion of very recent immigrants choosing Quebec was nearly 17%. Looking at the Ontario and Quebec populations alone this means that 1 in 4 Ontarians is an immigrant in comparison to 1 in 12 Quebecois.

TABLE 7 : DESTINATION OF IMMIGRANTS (1978-79 to 1982-83)

DESTINATION	TOTAL	% of TOTAL
NEWFOUNDLAND	2325	0.39%
NOVA SCOTIA	6491	1.09%
NEW BRUNSWICK	4667	0.79%
P.E.I.	897	0.15%
QUEBEC	99,260	16.82%
ONTARIO	262,808	44.53%
MANITOBA	26,587	4.50%
SASKATCHEWAN	12,415	2.10%
ALBERTA	78,365	13.28%
B.C.	94,564	16.02%
YUKON/N.W.T.	920	0.15%
Not stated	1,093	0.19%
TOTAL	590,392*	100%

*There appears to be a discrepancy of 270 people within Table 22 in the Annual Report 1982-83.

Source : Extracted from Employment and Immigration Canada Annual Report 1982-83, Table 22.

4. WHAT OFFICIAL LANGUAGE ABILITIES DO IMMIGRANTS POSSESS ?

Information about immigrants' official language abilities has only been made available to the public in the last four issues of the Canadian Immigration Statistics (1979, 1980, 1981 & 1982) although the information has been gathered from immigrant landing forms for many years. Sex data have only appeared in the last three reports. Age does not figure at all.

It is interesting to note that the information provided is expressed as an absolute. Immigrants either have or do not have official language ability - no grey areas of having some ability or mediocre ability are reported. Hence, it is reasonable to assume that many more than the 41-52% with no official language ability in Table 8 experience difficulties using the official languages. (N.B.: of the 60,000 Indochinese Refugees who arrived in 1979-1980, 92% spoke neither English nor French. Indochinese Refugees: the Canadian Response 1979-1980, p.24.)

TABLE 8 : IMMIGRANTS WITH NO OFFICIAL LANGUAGE ABILITY

Year	Males with no official language ability	Females	Both Sexes	% of Total immigrants
1979	n/a	n/a	53,218	47%
1980	37,358	36,857	74,215	52%
1981	25,164	27,678	52,842	41%
1982	22,508	25,301	47,809	41%

Source : Immigration Statistics 1979, 1980, 1981 & 1982 (Tables 7 or 8, depending on the year).

4.1 WHAT IS THE LINGUISTIC BACKGROUND OF CANADIAN IMMIGRANTS ?

The most accessible data concerning the language background of the Canadian population is available in the Census. Data on the mother-tongue of all Canadian residents is summarized in Table 9. Here we see that 61% of the Canadian population speak English as its mother-tongue; 26% have French mother-tongue; 0.5% speak Indian languages or Inuktitut and nearly 13% speak "other" mother-tongues. These "other" mother-tongue languages have been broken down into major language families. An estimate of the proportion of Canadians whose mother-tongue language does not use the Roman alphabet has been attempted in Table 10. (These languages are marked with an asterisk *.)

TABLE 9: MOTHER-TONGUE LANGUAGE OF CANADIAN POPULATION (all ages)

Mother-Tongue	Population	% Population
ENGLISH	14,750,495	61.2%
FRENCH	6,176,215	25.6%
INDIAN & INUKTITUT	140,975	0.5%
OTHERS	3,015,815	12.5%
TOTAL POPULATION	24,083,500	100%*

* figures may not add up to 100% due to rounding.

Source : Base data were provided by Barbara Burnaby from a special computer run on the Census of Canada,1981.

TABLE 10 : PROPORTIONS OF "OTHER" MOTHER TONGUE LANGUAGE GROUPS IN THE CANADIAN POPULATION ("Other" Mother Tongues= not English/French or Indian & Inuit languages.)

1. European Languages

Italian	17.6%	Spanish	2.3%
German	17.1%	Scandanavian	2.2%
*Ukranian	9.4%	Czech-Slovak	1.4%
Portuguese	5.4%	Baltic	1.3%
Netherlandic	5.3%	Other European	1.3%
Polish	4.2%	Finnish	1.1%
*Greek	4.1%	*Yiddish	1.0%
Croatian	2.9%	*Russian	1.0%
Hungarian	2.8%		

TOTAL EUROPEAN = 80.4% of all "other" languages

2. Asiatic Languages

*Chinese	7.4%
*Indo-Pakistani	3.7%
*Arabic	1.6%
*Phillipine	1.5%
?*Vietnamese	0.9%
*Japanese	0.7%
*Other Asiatic	2.2%

TOTAL ASIATIC = 18.0% of all "other" languages

3. *African Languages = 0.1%

4. ?All other languages = 0.9%

* NON-ROMANIC ALPHABETIC LANGUAGES = 33.5%

(The total does not come to exactly 100% because of rounding.)

Source : Same as table 9

We see that 80% of those born outside Canada whose mother-tongue is neither English nor French speak other European languages as their mother-tongue. All but four of these languages employ the Roman alphabet. By contrast 18.1% of "other" mother-tongue immigrants speak Asiatic or African languages, the majority of which DO NOT employ the Roman alphabet. In total about 33.5% of the immigrant population whose mother-tongue is neither English nor French uses a non-Roman alphabetic language.

The recent immigration trend (away from immigrants from Europe and towards immigrants from Asiatic countries) has important implications for official language and literacy training. To reach a functional or a survival literacy level, individuals lacking experience with the Roman alphabet may need

substantially more language training than those who have this knowledge. In addition to problems with the alphabet itself, the rhetorical systems of the Asiatic languages are very different from the English or French systems. This factor may imply that immigrants needing to achieve a level of official language competence to work in "professional" occupations may need extensive reading and writing training to attain an appropriate level of official language literacy.

5. HOW MANY IMMIGRANTS HAVE LESS THAN A GRADE 9 LEVEL OF EDUCATION ?

With the exception of information about Indochinese refugees' education, the Immigration department does not include educational background among its published statistics. Of the Indochinese 24.4% had "no education" and 66.3% had "secondary or less". These figures include children 0-14 and say nothing about grade level, but it is clear that with 92% speaking neither official language that almost all were classifiable as functionally illiterate in the Canadian context (Indochinese Refugees: The Canadian Response, 1979-1980, p.24).

The 1981 Census of Canada does provide data on those having less than a grade 9 level of education. Unfortunately not all data are comparable throughout the Census: sometimes the period of immigration cited is 1971-1981, and sometimes only 1961-1981 is supplied. We will thus look at the target group as a whole, and try to establish what proportion are immigrants.

(TARGET GROUP : the Canadian population 15+ not attending school full-time who have less than a grade 9 education.)

5.1 WHAT IS THE COMPOSITION OF THE TARGET GROUP ?

The 1981 Census indicates that 3,564,755 (22.29%) of the population over 15 years of age not attending school full-time, have less than a grade 9 level of education. Breaking these data into birthplace groupings reveals that those born in Europe are twice as likely (39.9%) to be functionally illiterate as those born in Canada (20.9%). This information is presented in Table 11.

17% of those immigrants born in countries other than Europe, U.S. and U.K. had less than a grade 9 level of education at the time of the 1981 Census.

15% of immigrants from the major English-speaking countries (U.K. & U.S.A.) are likely to be functionally illiterate. Those who are illiterate are able to benefit from literacy programs for English-Canadians because they share the same language background.

TABLE 11: PROPORTIONS OF TARGET GROUP MEMBERS IN CERTAIN BIRTHPLACE GROUPS OF THE CANADIAN POPULATION (POPULATION 15+ NOT ATTENDING SCHOOL FULL-TIME)

BIRTHPLACE	% OF EACH GROUP WITH LESS THAN GRADE 9
Canada	20.97%
U.S.+ U.K.	15.69%
Other Europe	39.93%
Other Countries	17.28%

Source : Census of Canada 1981, Catalogue : 92-914, Table 11.

The figure for "other" countries is low: 17% of immigrants born in countries other than U.S., U.K. or Europe have less than a grade 9 education. This category includes Asia , Africa, South America, the Caribbean, Oceania and Australasia. Some sectors of the "other" group have very little formal education. For example, the information provided on the Indochinese refugees indicates that 90.7% had secondary education or less; 1.6% had a university qualification (Indochinese Refugees: The Canadian Response, 1979-80, p.24). If the Indochinese are removed from the "other" category, it means that the remaining immigrants have a very low tendency towards a lack in education. Furthermore, the 1981 Census data shows that 18.5% of the "other" group has a university qualification. By contrast 11% of immigrants from the U.S. and U.K. and 6% of other European immigrants have a university qualification (Census of Canada 1981, Catalogue 92-914, Table 11).

A partial explanation of these data lies in information concerning the period of immigration. The high proportion (39%) of Europeans with less than a grade 9 education is probably a reflection of the "open door" policy which was in operation after the Second World War when Canada needed a great deal of unskilled labour for the industrial expansion of the 1950's and 60's. On the other hand, the immigration of large numbers of people from outside Europe, U.S. and U.K. is a relatively recent phenomenon which has occurred during a period when immigration regulations have been considerably tightened. Thus, more recent immigrants from all origins are likely to have had more formal education than their predecessors. The information on the educational attainment of very recent immigrants is not publicly available but the Census data indicates that 15% of immigrants arriving 1961-1981 have a university qualification.

The discussion above does not provide a completely satisfactory explanation for the low incidence of a lack of formal education amongst immigrants from "other" countries. It must be borne in mind that, according to UNESCO data on illiteracy rates around the world, many Third World countries have very high rates: for example, India:67%, Haiti: 77%, Angola: 97%, Chad: 94%, Saudi Arabia: 84%, Pakistan: 79%. (UNESCO's

Statistical Yearbook 1981, pp.1-19/24). Thus, while at one end of the spectrum some immigrants from "other" countries tend to be highly educated, at the other end, those lacking formal education will tend to need a great deal of official language and literacy training to facilitiate their successful integration and adaptation to Canadian society.

5.2 BIRTHPLACE OF TARGET GROUP MEMBERS (Canadian population 15+ having less than a grade 9 level of education.)

A look at make-up of the target group reveals that more than 3 out of 4 illiterates are Canadian born. By comparison only 1 in 20 is from the U.S. and U.K. combined: nearly 1 in 5 is an immigrant from another country (Table 12).

TABLE 12: BIRTHPLACE OF THE TARGET GROUP

BIRTHPLACE	TARGET GROUP	% of TOTAL
Canada	2,745,770	77.0%
U.S + U.K	163,325	4.6%
Other Countries	655,660	18.4%
TOTAL	3,564,755	100%

Source :Census of Canada 1981,
Catalogue : 92-914, Table 11.

5.3 IN WHICH PROVINCES DOES THE TARGET GROUP LIVE ?

The distribution of illiteracy across the country is not even. The East has a much higher proportion of illiterates and the West much lower. The variation in the proportions is shown below in Table 13.

The range of the proportions of functionally illiterate persons varies from a high of 33% for Newfoundland to a low of 14% in British Columbia. However, not all provinces have the same proportion of immigrants. It can be observed that the major immigrant receiving provinces, with the exception of Quebec, have the lowest proportions of functional illiterates: Ontario: 19%, Alberta 14.4% and B.C. 14%. On the other hand, Quebec has a relatively high proportion of illiterates- nearly 30% or 1.3 million (see Table 13). A glance at table 14 will show that while Quebec is the second most populous province, only 8% of its population was born outside Canada. This figure compares with 22% for B.C.; 24% for Ontario; 15% for Alberta.

TABLE 13: PROPORTIONS OF TOTAL CANADIAN POPULATION (15+ NOT ATTENDING SCHOOL FULL-TIME), IN TARGET GROUP, BY PROVINCE

Canada	22.29%
Newfoundland	33.35%
P.E.I.	26.26%
Nova Scotia	22.18%
New Brunswick	30.89%
Quebec	29.56%
Ontario	19.58%
Manitoba	23.96%
Saskatchewan	25.19%
Alberta	14.01%
British Columbia	14.40%

Source: Census of Canada, 1981, Catalogue 92-914 Table 8.

TABLE 14: PROPORTION OF THE TOTAL POPULATION BORN OUTSIDE CANADA, COMPARED TO DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL POPULATION, BY PROVINCE (all ages).

	% population born outside Canada	distribution of population by province
Canada	17 %	100.0 % *
Newfoundland	2 %	2.3 %
P.E.I.	3 %	0.5 %
Nova Scotia	5 %	3.5 %
New Brunswick	4 %	2.8 %
Quebec	8 %	26.4 %
Ontario	24 %	35.4 %
Manitoba	14 %	4.2 %
Saskatchewan	8 %	3.9 %
Alberta	15 %	9.2 %
British Columbia	22 %	11.3 %
Yukon	10 %	0.1 %
N.W.T	5 %	0.2 %

(*figures may not add up to exactly 100% due to rounding.)

Source: Census of Canada 1981, Catalogue 92-913 Table 1A.

TABLE 15: BIRTHPLACE OF THE TARGET POPULATION BY MAJOR IMMIGRANT RECEIVING PROVINCES (POPULATION 15+ NOT ATTENDING SCHOOL FULL-TIME).

	PROVINCE OF RESIDENCE			
	ALBERTA	B.C	ONTARIO	QUEBEC
Birthplace				
Canada	134,105	157,370	651,635	1,148,540
U.S. + U.K.	16,550	29,965	74,300	16,455
Other Countries	57,575	87,350	416,825	131,910
TOTAL	208,230	274,685	1,142,760	1,296,905
Other as % of Total	27.7%	31.8%	36.4%	10.2%

Source: Census of Canada 1981, Catalogue 92-914, Table 11.

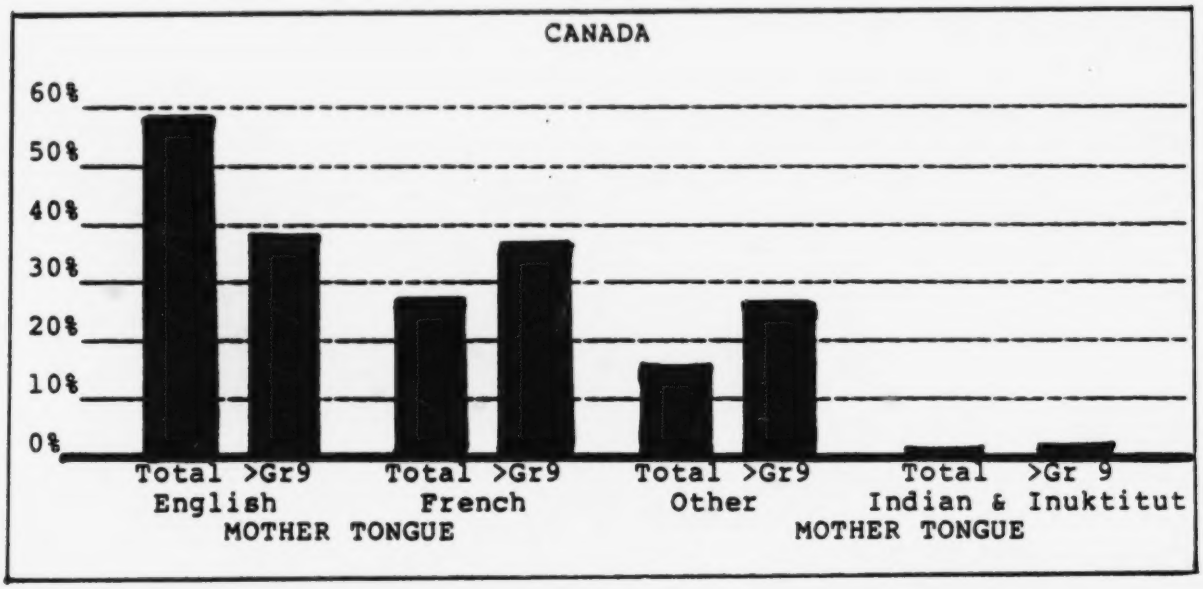
Unlike the picture for other provinces, the overwhelming majority (88%) of illiterates in Quebec are Canadian born and only 12% are immigrants. In Ontario by contrast less than 60% of illiterates are Canadian born, about 40% are immigrants. These facts have a strong influence on the overall figure for Canada, as far as immigrants are concerned. By looking at the provincial breakdown in Table 15 we can see that in fact between 27% and 36% of the target group outside Quebec are immigrants from countries other than U.K. and U.S.

5.4 WHAT MOTHER-TONGUES DO TARGET GROUP MEMBERS SPEAK ?

In order to assess how many immigrants might experience language problems combined with literacy problems the mother-tongue breakdowns will be investigated. Three mother-tongue groups will be considered: English, French and Other. This will not result in a precise measure, but it will give some indication of how many individuals might be in need of some official language element in addition to literacy. The proportion of "other" mother-tongue speakers in the Canadian population is only 15%, but they make up 25% of the target group. French mother tongue speakers are also disproportionately represented in the target group: 26% of the population speaks French as their mother-tongue in comparison to 35% of the target group (see Figure 3).

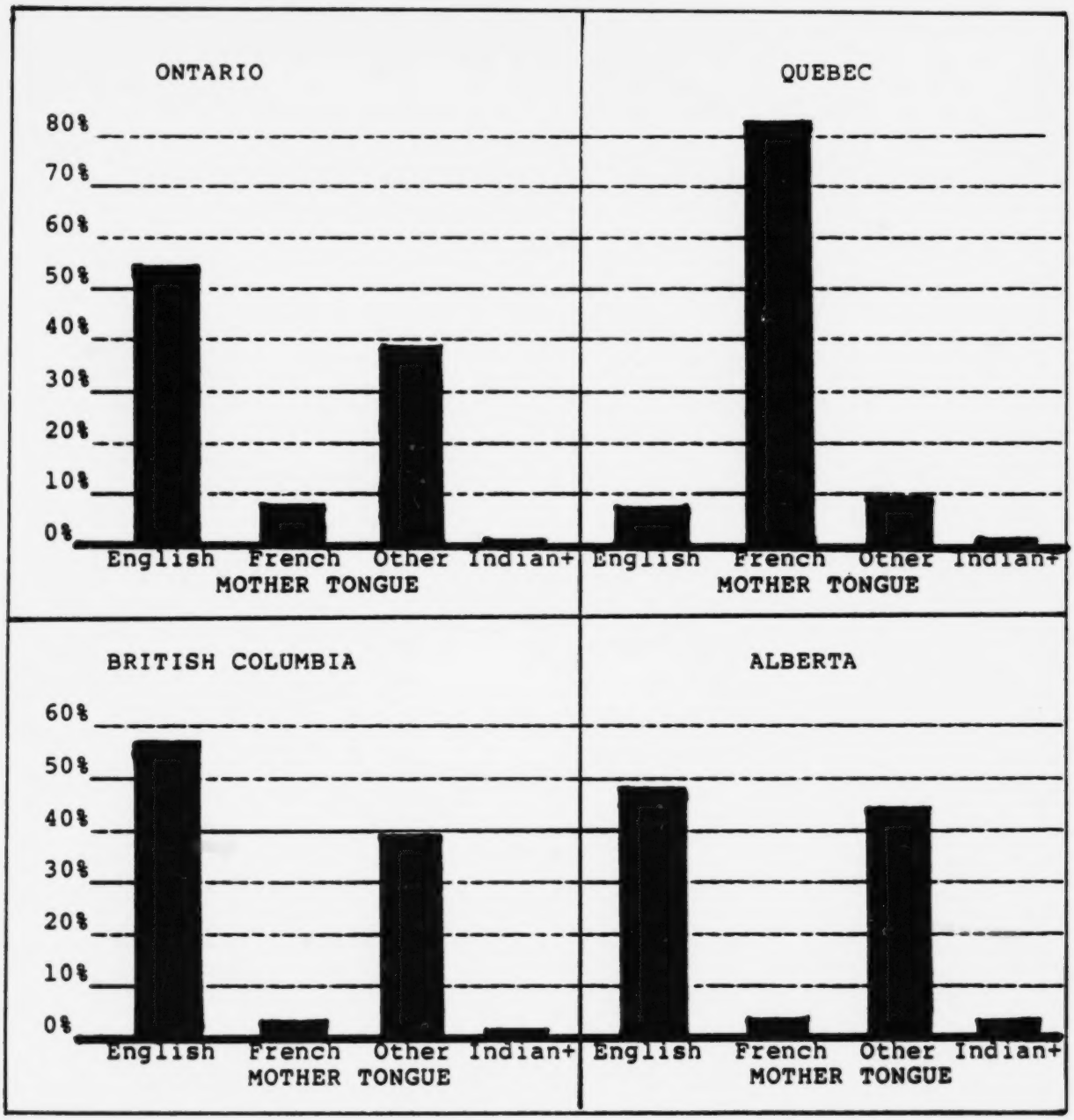
When these figures are further analysed by province, the influence of Quebec on the Canada-wide totals is clearly seen. In figure 4 we see that 83% of Quebec's illiterates are French speaking. This fact has the effect of making immigrants appear to be a smaller proportion of the total Canadian target group. In the other three immigrant receiving provinces the number of "other" mother-tongue speakers approaches the number of English mother-tongue speakers. In Ontario, B.C. and Alberta "other" mother-tongue illiterates form between 38-43% of all illiterates in each province.

FIGURE 3 : CANADA: PROPORTIONS OF VARIOUS MOTHER-TONGUE SPEAKERS IN THE TOTAL POPULATION, COMPARED TO PROPORTION WITH LESS THAN A GRADE 9 EDUCATION (POPULATION 15+ NOT ATTENDING SCHOOL FULL-TIME).



Source : Census of Canada 1981, Catalogue 92-914, Table 11.

FIGURE 4 : DISTRIBUTION OF MOTHER-TONGUE GROUPS WITHIN THE TARGET GROUP, BY PROVINCE.



Source : Census of Canada 1981, Catalogue 92 -914 Table 11.

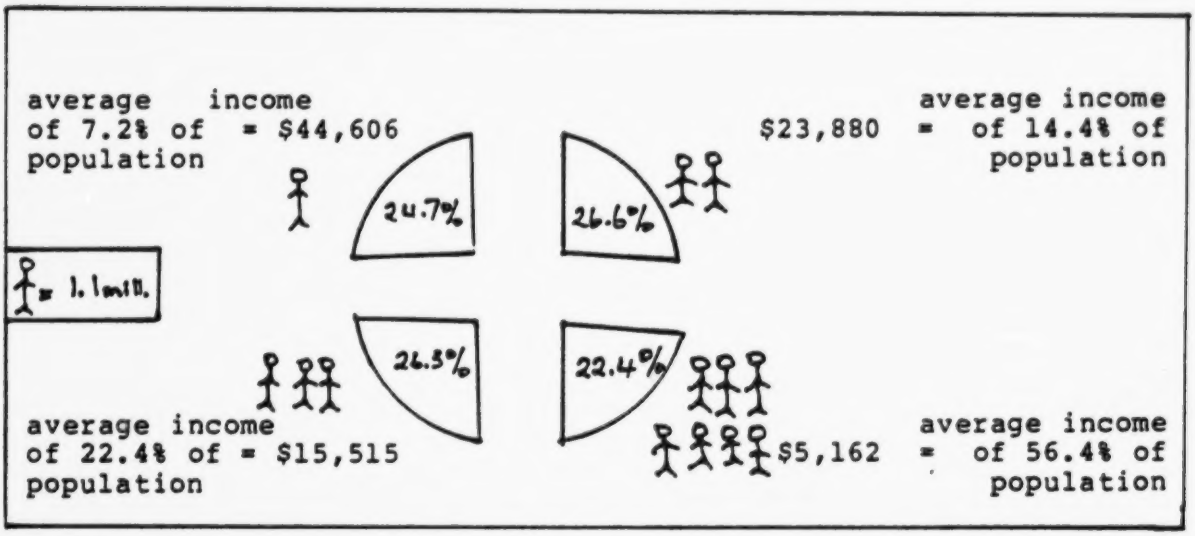
6. INCOME

In order to situate the socio-economic profile of the immigrant population in the Canadian context it is necessary to review briefly the latest Census data concerning other sectors of the population. It underlines the deep discrepancies between rich and poor, men and women. This will establish a framework in which the information concerning immigrants may be placed.

6.1 INCOME DISTRIBUTION

The familiar pattern of unequal income distribution is confirmed by the 1981 Census data. The aggregate income pie (which includes income from all sources e.g. wages, salaries, self-employment, pensions, dividends, U.I.C. benefits, etc) of $205,413,657,000 was divided into four roughly equal portions among the 15,8 million Canadian residents 15years and over with income in 1980. 7% of this population (1.1 million) received one of these quarters, and 56% (8.9 million) divided another quarter between them. Of the other two portions, one was distributed amongst 14% of the population and the other went to the remaining 22%. Figure 5 illustrates how the pie was divided. It shows that for the top 7% of the population who earned in excess of $30,000 p.a. their average income was $44,606 p.a. On the other hand for the bottom 56% of the population who received less than $12,000 p.a. their average income was $5,162 p.a. (Note: The average income figures do not give much idea of the distribution of income within each sector.)

FIGURE 5: DISTRIBUTION OF AGGREGATE INCOME FROM ALL SOURCES AMONGST THE POPULATION OF CANADA WITH INCOME IN 1980 (15+).

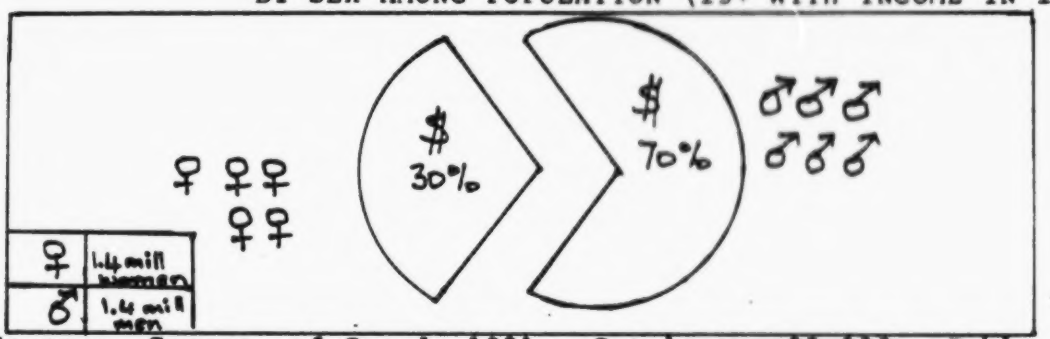


Source :Census of Canada 1981, Catalogue 92-928, Table 3.

6.2 INCOME AND SEX

How is aggregate income divided between the sexes? Women constituted 46% of those persons with income from all sources in 1980 and received 30% of aggregate income. Men constituted 54% of the group with income and received 70% of aggregate income. Figure 6 shows how the sexes divided up the pie. The female population received $61,396,080,000 in aggregate income from all sources compared to $144,017,640,000 that men received. Thus the average income for women was $8,487p.a., whereas it was $16,917 p.a. for men in 1981.

FIGURE 6: DISTRIBUTION OF AGGREGATE INCOME FROM ALL SOURCES BY SEX AMONG POPULATION (15+ WITH INCOME IN 1980).



Source: Census of Canada 1981, Catalogue 92-928, Table 3.

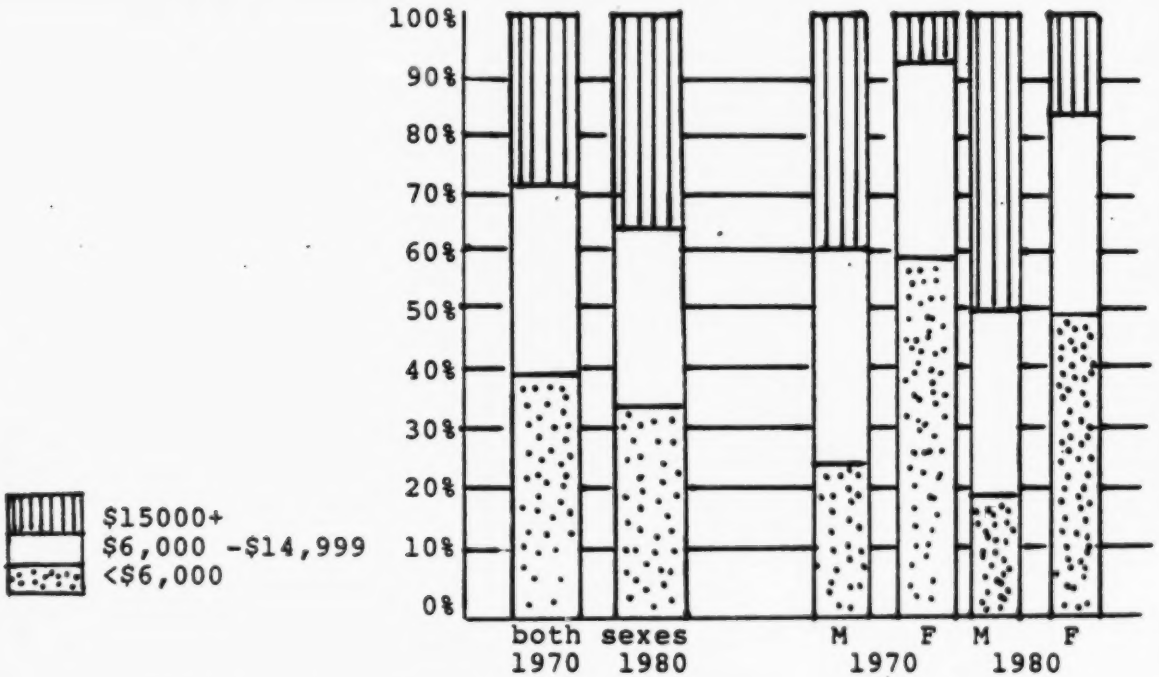
6.3 LEVEL OF INCOME, SEX AND IMMIGRANTS

Of those Canadians with income in 1980, 80% were born inside Canada, and 20% were born outside Canada: this is true for both men and women, and reflects the relative percentages of Canadian born to non-Canadian born adults in the population (15 years not attending school full-time).

Information on level of income gives a fairly clear idea of immigrants' economic position when compared with the Canadian born population. Members of the same sex resemble each other much more closely than those born either inside or outside Canada. Thus, the sexes will be considered separately. Figures 7 and 8 illustrate the general distribution of income amongst males and females within three income brackets while Figures 9, 10 and 11 show how income patterns of recent immigrants compare with those individuals born inside or outside Canada. (The immigrant categories are not mutually exclusive since recent immigrants are included in the figure for people born outside Canada.)

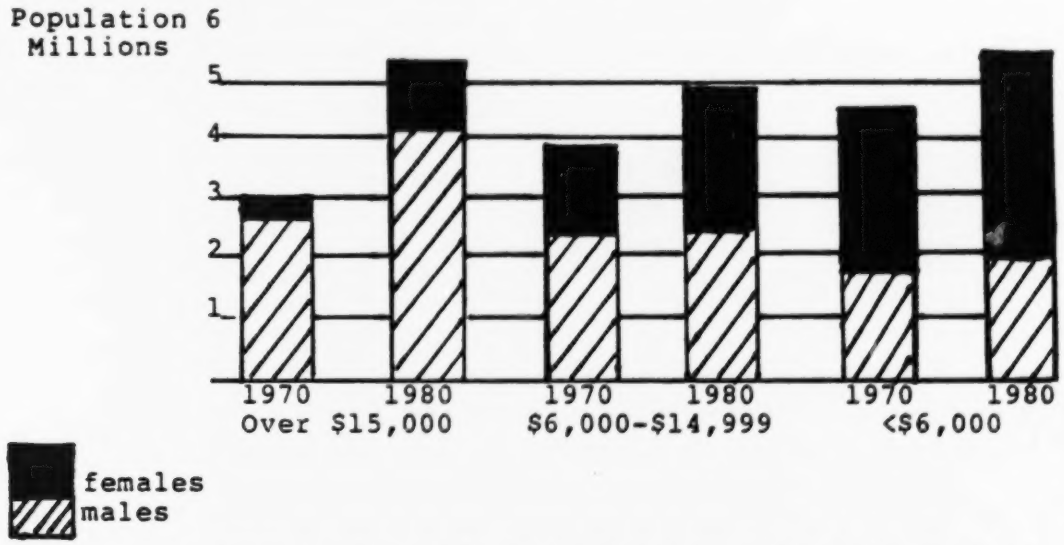
In the analysis above (sections 6.1 & 6.2) we looked at how each one-fourth of aggregate income was distributed amongst the population: this gave a good idea of the average income of the top income earners. Now we will take an alternative perspective: dividing the population into groups and seeing what income each receives. In 1980 the Canadian population (15 years and over with income) could be divided into three roughly equal parts. One third (34%) received in excess of $15,000 p.a.; one third (32%) between $6,000 and $14,999 and the remaining third (34%) of the population earned less than $6,000 p.a. This constitutes an increase over a decade ago (in constant dollars) since the proportion in the highest bracket increased and the proportion in the lowest bracket decreased. This general picture is illustrated by Figure 7 below.

FIGURE 7 : PROPORTIONS OF THE POPULATION (15+) WITH INCOME IN 1980 IN 3 INCOME BRACKETS: COMPARED TO 1970.



Source : Census of Canada 1981,Catalogue 92-928 Table 3.

FIGURE 8: PROPORTIONS OF MALES AND FEMALES IN 3 INCOME BRACKETS (POPULATION WITH INCOME, 15+ years, 1970 vs 1980).



Source :Census of Canada 1981,Catalogue 92-928, Table 3.

6.3 A. INCOME OVER $15,000 p.a. (constant 1980 dollars)

MALES

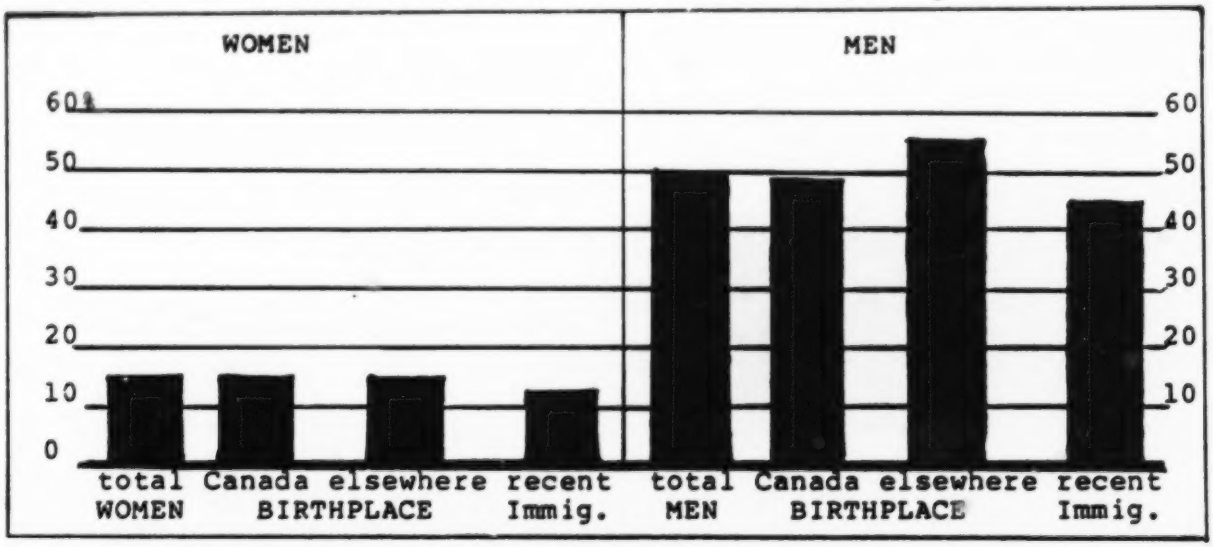
In 1970 40% of men earned over $15,000 but by 1980, 50% of the male population earned more than $15,000 (constant dollars). Comparing immigrant men with native-born Canadian men we find that 55% of men born outside Canada and 50% of the men born in Canada earned in excess of $15,000 p.a. but 46% of recent immigrant men received income in this bracket.

FEMALES

For women too there was an increase in 1980 over 1970, both in terms of numbers and proportions of women with income in this bracket. In 1970, 7% (300,000) of women with income received more than $15,000 and 93% less. By 1980 these proportions had changed to 16% (1.1 million) in excess of $15,000 and 84% with less. In 1980 the proportions were the same (16%) for both women born in and outside Canada. 13% of recent immigrant women had income in the highest category.

The differences between the income levels of recent immigrant women and women born outside Canada may be partly attributed to the lower representation of recent immigrant women in the "professional and technical" occupations. On the other hand, proportionately more recent immigrant men than all men work in the professional and technical occupations (see Table 21) but this does not appear to be reflected in the immigrants' level of income. (Note:Income refers to income from all sources not just earned income.)

FIGURE 9 : PROPORTIONS OF GROUPS OF MEN & WOMEN
WITH INCOME, 1980 IN EXCESS OF $15,000 p.a.



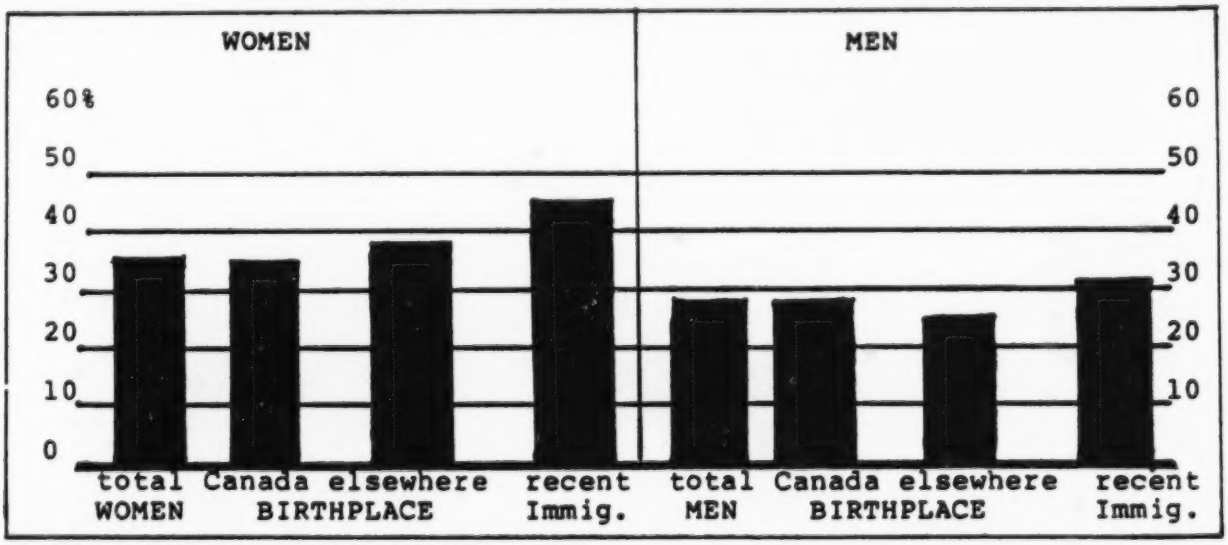
Source :Census of Canada 1981, Catalogue 92-928 Table 10.

6.3 B. INCOME $6,000 - $14,999 p.a.

MALES

28% of all men received income in this bracket. Recent immigrants were more likely to earn at this level (31%), whereas men born outside Canada were slightly less likely to be in this category (26%).

FIGURE 10: PROPORTIONS OF GROUPS OF MEN & WOMEN
WITH INCOME,1980 BETWEEN $6,000 AND $15,000 p.a.



Source :Census of Canada 1981, Catalogue 92-928 Table 10.

FEMALES

35% of Canadian born women received income in the middle category, compared to nearly 44% of recent immigrant women. 38% of women born outside Canada received income at this level.

6.3 C. INCOME LESS THAN $6,000 p.a.

While the number of people in this category increased over the decade, the overall proportion declined. The increase was composed entirely of women.

MALES

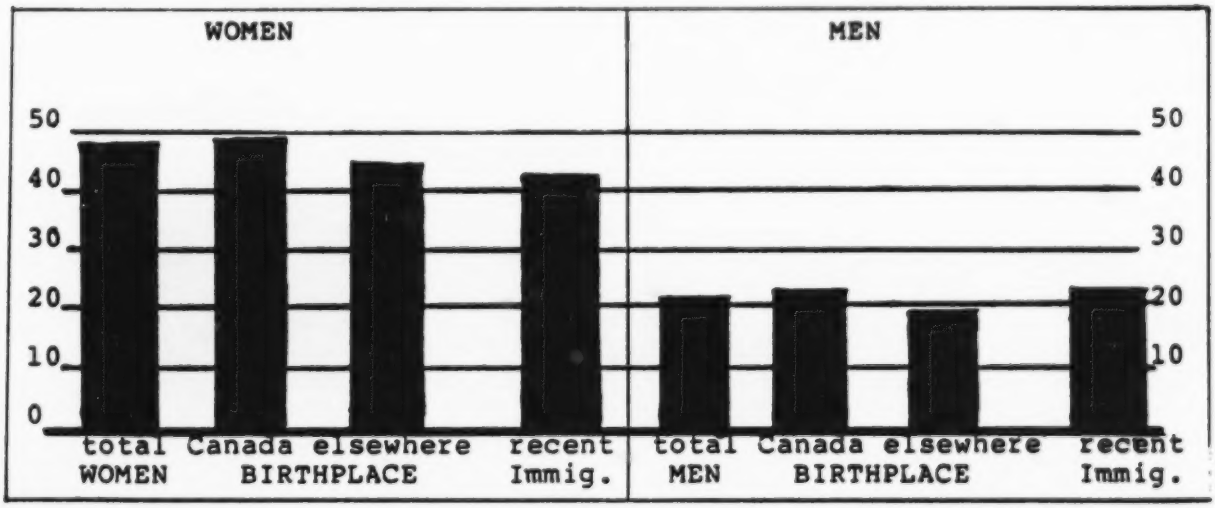
19% of males born outside Canada received less than $6,000 compared to 23% of both Canadian-born men and recent immigrants.

FEMALES

50% of women born in Canada received this very low level of income compared to 43% of recent immigrant women and 46% of women born outside Canada.

It must be remembered that the information presented here refers to aggregate income from all sources not earned income alone. Thus part-time workers' wages, pensions, U.I.C. benefits, welfare, dividend incomes, etc. are included and help to explain the low levels of income received by some individuals. This information does demonstrate the size of that section of the Canadian population whose members would be unable to survive independently on the incomes they currently receive.

FIGURE 11: PROPORTIONS OF GROUPS OF MEN & WOMEN WITH INCOME,1980 LESS THAN $6,000 p.a.



Source :Census of Canada 1981, Catalogue 92-928 Table 10.

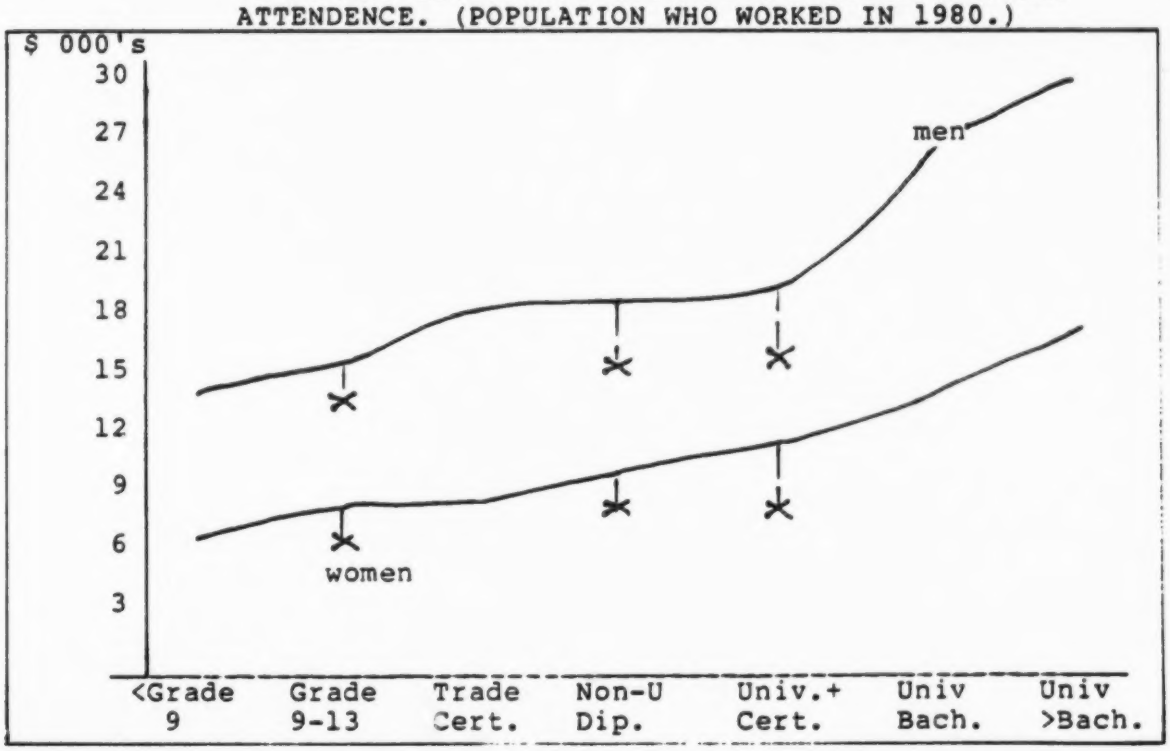
6.4 WHAT IS THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EDUCATION & INCOME ?

The discussion above concerned the aggregate income of the Canadian population. Now we will turn to income earned by Canadians who worked in 1980.

Education is considered to be a means of increasing one's personal income. The argument is usually that an increase in educational attainment increases the earning ability of the individual. Using data from 1973 Frappier-Desrochers (In Wagner 1980, p3) demonstrated that income rises progressively as educational attainment increases. She showed that Quebecois with less than a Grade 4 education (those most likely to be illiterate) earned $8,564 p.a. whereas those with a university education earned $19,693 p.a. on average.

The situation across Canada, reflected in the 1981 Census, is broadly similar to that observed in Quebec. At the extremes, education and income correlate highly. A man with a university degree earns on average $30,000 p.a., whereas a man with less than a grade 9 education earns about $14,000 p.a. on average. For women this tendency is also true. A woman with a university education tends to earn more than twice as much as a women with less than a grade 9 education. The graphs in figure 12 show how income and education relate according to the 1981 Census.

FIGURE 12 : THE AVERAGE INCOME OF MEN COMPARED TO WOMEN WITH DIFFERENT LEVELS OF EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT AND ATTENDENCE. (POPULATION WHO WORKED IN 1980.)



Source :Census of Canada 1981,Catalogue 92-931, Table 1.

6.5 EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT, ATTENDANCE

The upward curve relating achieved education with income does not tell the whole story, however. This trend is distorted if those who receive education but do not attain certification at that level are taken into account -"the dropouts" and failures of the educational system. Thus it appears that it is the attainment of a higher level of education that correlates strongly with more income. Attendance, without certification, at a particular level tends to correlate with a lower level of income.

The highest level of schooling of 64% of the 16.4 million Canadian population over 15 years not attending school full-time is grade 13 or less (36% achieve higher educational levels). This 64% is made up as follows: 22% have not achieved a grade 9 level of education. A further 25% left high school after grade 9 but failed to receive a certificate. 4% received a trade certificate and the remaining 13% did receive a certicate for grades 9-13. Thus, most of those whose highest level of schooling attended was grade 13 or less did not graduate: they may be called "dropouts". Those who graduate with grade 9-13 tend to earn more than those with less than a grade 9 level of education. But, "dropouts" earn less than those with less than a grade 9 education. The X 's on the graph in figure 12 indicate the level of income of the "dropouts" (those who do not attain a certificate in the level of education they attend).

On average, a woman with a bachelor's degree earns ($14,028 p.a) about as much as a man with a grade 9 education. Note the relative heights of the graphs in Figure 12. The average incomes of men compared to women seem to differ by similar proportions no matter what the level of education attained.

As earning patterns of immigrant women resemble those of all women so closely it is reasonable to expect that the conditions outlined in Figure 12 are as relevant for immigrant women as they are for Canadian born women. Those women who are in the target group are likely to be amongst the group who earn the least. The average earnings for a working woman with less than a grade 9 level of education was $7,022p.a. in 1980 (Census of Canada 1981, Catalogue 92-931 Table 1).

7. WHERE ARE IMMIGRANTS IN THE CANADIAN LABOUR FORCE?

Nearly 12 million workers were active in the labour force in 1981, according to Census data. 60% were men; 40% were women (compared with the population as a whole which is 49% men; 51% women). 81% of workers were born in Canada, 19% were born outside. Recent immigrants constituted 5.4% of the work force. In fact each decade of post-war immigrants constituted around 5% of the total work force.

13.2% of workers or 1.5 million could be classified as functionally illiterate using the Grade 9 criterion. This proportion is lower than the Canadian average of 22.9%, illustrating that people in the target group do not participate in the work force to the same extent as their more educated fellows.

TABLE 16 : ACTIVE CANADIAN LABOUR FORCE (1981) BY SEX, BIRTHPLACE, PERIOD OF IMMIGRATION, & TARGET GROUP.

	MALES	FEMALES	TOTAL
TOTAL	7,080,095 (100%)	4,796,945 (100%)	11,877,040 (100%)
Birthplace			
IN CANADA	5,708,770 (80.6%)	3,888,110 (81%)	9,596,880 (81%)
OUTSIDE	1,371,325 (19.4%)	908,835 (19%)	2,280,160 (19%)
Recent Imm.			
61-70	388,190 (5.5%)	281,260 (5.9%)	669,450 (5.6%)
71-81	368,165 (5.2%)	275,880 (5.8%)	644,045 (5.4%)
Less than Grade 9 education	1,070,690 (15.1%)	495,530 (10.3%)	1,566,220 (13%)

Source : Census of Canada, 1981, Catalogue 92-922, Table 1 & Catalogue 92-921, Table 4.

7.1 LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION

One third of women are designated "worker" on entry to Canada; the others come in as "family class" or "sponsored" immigrants, who are dependent, usually on their spouses, for support. However, many of these "non-workers" subsequently seek paid employment. The statistics demonstrate that recent immigrant women are much more likely to participate in the work force than Canadian born women. In fact 64% of women immigrating in 1961-70 participated in the work force in comparison to about 52% of Canadian born women. The same is true of immigrant men; 88% of recent immigrant men (1960-71) participated in the work force in comparison to 78% of Canadian born men.

7.2 LOW PARTICIPATION RATES

Two groups of women are notable for their lack of participation in the paid workforce: women with less than a grade 9 education - women in the target group- and women who speak neither English or French (79% of whom are also in the target group). **31% of women who speak neither official language participated in the labour force in 1980.** It is highly likely that this group is much larger than the Census indicates since it is probable that some people answering "yes" to the question "Do you speak English or French?" have very restricted mastery of either of the official languages. **26% of target group women participated in the paid labour force in 1980.**

TABLE 17: LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES OF VARIOUS GROUPS IN CANADIAN POPULATION (15 years and over)

	Participation Rate		
	Total	Males	Females
TOTAL POPULATION	65%	78%	52%
BORN IN CANADA	65%	78%	52%
BORN OUTSIDE CANADA	65%	78%	52%
RECENT IMMIGRANTS (1961-71)	76%	88%	64%
RECENT IMMIGRANTS (1971-81)	71%	84%	59%
LESS THAN GRADE 9 EDUCATION	43%	61%	26%
SPEAKERS OF NEITHER ENGLISH NOR FRENCH	41%	59%	31%

(N.B. all figures rounded to nearest whole number.)

Source: Census of Canada 1981, Catalogue 92-915 Table 2.

Both target group men and those speaking neither official language participated in the work force much less than other men but to a greater extent than women in these groups. About 60% of target group men worked in 1980. Since a large proportion of older people (over 65) are in the target group, one might think that age explains the low participation rate. However, this is only part of the answer. A glance at the age breakdowns in Table 18 shows that the youngest members of the target group have very low participation rates.

Young women with a university education participate to the same extent as similarly educated young men (86% participation). By comparison 35% of young women and 56% of young men in the target group were in the work force in 1980.

Young men with grade 9-13 education but who do not graduate do not fare better than those in the target group. These "dropouts" participate to an extent similar to target group members. Young women "dropouts" participate slightly more (43%) than target group women (35%). See Table 18 below.

TABLE 18: LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION BY EDUCATION, AGE AND SEX.

AGE	TOTAL	LESS GR 9	without 9-13 cert	with 9-13 cert	Trade Cert.	Some Univ. without	Univ with cert	Univ Degree
MALES								
15-24	70%	56%	57%	78%	91%	84%	88%	87%
25-44	95%	87%	94%	96%	97%	96%	98%	97%
45-64	87%	79%	86%	88%	91%	88%	92%	94%
FEMALES								
15-24	52%	35%	43%	71%	81%	77%	86%	86%
25-44	65%	46%	58%	63%	69%	70%	76%	82%
45-64	46%	32%	46%	51%	60%	56%	64%	73%

Source :Census of Canada 1981, Catalogue 92-915, Table 3.

8. OCCUPATIONS

Twenty-one major occupational groupings are considered in the Census. Of these, women predominate (more than 75%) in 2 sections: medicine & health and clerical. Men predominate in 13 occupational categories using the 75% criterion. In addition, women outnumber men in social sciences, teaching, and service occupations. The proportions of men and women in each occupational grouping are illustrated in Table 19.

Tables 20 & 21 attempt to illustrate the distribution of different groups of the population among the various occupational categories. Table 20 is confined to women workers, Table 21 to men. The groups considered are: "all" men and women workers,"recent immigrant" men and women, "other mother tongue" speakers, and target group men and women. The column on the far right of each table indicates the proportion of target group workers in a particular profession. This final column may be reviewed as an indicator of occupations containing high proportions of workers with less than a grade 9 level of

TABLE 19: PROPORTIONS OF THE SEXES IN EACH OCCUPATIONAL GROUP

OCCUPATIONS	WOMEN	MEN
Managerial and Admin.	25%	75%
Natural Science,Eng. & Mathematics	14%	86%
Social Sciences	53%	47%
Religion	30%	70%
Teaching	60%	40%
Medicine & Health	78%	22%
Artistic,Literary & Recreational	39%	61%
TOTAL PROF + TECH	52%	48%
Clerical	78%	22%
Sales	42%	58%
Service	53%	47%
Farming, Horticult. & Animal Husbandry	22%	78%
Fishing, Hunt., Trap.	6%	94%
Forestry & Logging	6%	94%
Mining & Quarrying	2%	98%
TOTAL PRIMARY	16%	84%
Processing	22%	78%
Machining	7%	93%
Product Fabricating & Assembly	25%	75%
Construction	2%	98%
Transport	6%	94%
Materials Handling	23%	77%
Other Crafts & Equipment Operating	21%	79%
TOTAL	40%	60%

Source : Census of Canada, 1981,, Catalogue: 92-923, Table 1.

education. [An example may clarify how the tables 20 and 21 should be read. In the "Service" occupation in Table 20 we can see, in the column on the left, that 15.7 of all women work in this category. By comparison 19.62% of recent immigrant women, 20% of other mother-tongue speakers and 33.4% of the target group work here. Of all women workers in service occupations 21% are functionally illiterate.]

TABLE 20 : DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONS BY GROUPS IN THE FEMALE CANDIAN WORKFORCE.

WOMEN	All women	Imm. women (71-80)	Other Mother Tongues	% of Target Group	%<Gr9 in Occup.
All Occupations	100%*	100%*	100%*	100%*	10%
Managerial and Admin.	5.5	4.0	4.8	2.2	4.0
Natural Science,Eng. & Mathematics	1.2	1.9	1.4	-	1.4
Social Sciences	2.1	1.3	1.5	0.3	3.2
Religion	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.7	16.1
Teaching	6.2	3.4	4.3	0.4	1.2
Medicine & Health	8.6	8.3	6.8	3.5	4.2
Artistic,Literary & Recreational	1.4	1.4	1.1	0.5	3.3
TOTAL PROF+ TECH	19.7	16.4	15.2	5.4	3.0
Clerical	36.3	29.2	27.3	12.1	3.4
Sales	9.4	6.1	8.5	8.6	9.5
Service	15.7	19.6	20.0	33.4	21.0
Farming, Horticult. & Animal Husbandry	2.2	1.7	3.7	5.1	23.6
Fishing,Hunt.,Trap.	-	-	-	-	34.8
Forestry & Logging	0.1	-	-	-	17.5
Mining & Quarrying	-	-	-	-	14.3
TOTAL PRIMARY	2.3	1.7	3.7	5.1	23.5*
Processing	2.3	3.1	3.1	7.2	32.8
Machining	0.4	1.0	0.8	1.2	27.5
Product Fabricating & Assembly	4.9	14.3	12.5	17.4	36.6
Construction	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.5	16.3
Transport	0.6	0.2	0.4	0.9	14.1
Materials Handling	1.2	2.2	1.9	3.2	28.1
Other Crafts & Equipment Operating	0.6	0.7	0.6	0.8	13.6
Occupations not classified elsewhere	0.5	1.1	0.9	1.2	24.3

(* Parts do not add precisely to 100% due to rounding.)

Source :Census of Canada 1981,Catalogues 92-917 Table 3 and 92-918, Table 1.

8.1 WHERE DO IMMIGRANTS WORK ?

Women's occupations differ substantailly from men's so the sexes will be considered separately. Immigrant men and women will be compared to their Canadian born counterparts. Much of the base data is provided in TABLE 20 (women workers) and 21 (men workers).

8.2 WOMEN WORKERS

Half of all women workers are employed in two categories: Clerical (36.3%) and Service (15.7%). 20% are employed in the Professional and Technical occupational groups; 5.5% in Managerial or Administrative positions; 10% in sales. The remaining 13% are scattered among the other occupations.

Sheila Arnopoulos (1979) noticed that immigrant women tended to be "located on the top and bottom rungs of the labour market ladder with little representation in between" (p.3). She observed that immigrant women were "well-represented" in the professional and technical occupational groups, but "over-represented" in the low-paying service and manufacturing jobs. This meant that there was a higher proportion of immigrant women than Canadian-born women working in these sectors. Her data were taken from the 1971 Census. Since that time the Immigration Act has been changed and a stricter point system imposed on prospective immigrants. One might expect to find fewer immigrants in the low-paying occupational sectors comparing 1971 to 1981: however, the reverse is true.

A. SERVICE, and PRODUCT FABRICATING & ASSEMBLY OCCUPATIONS

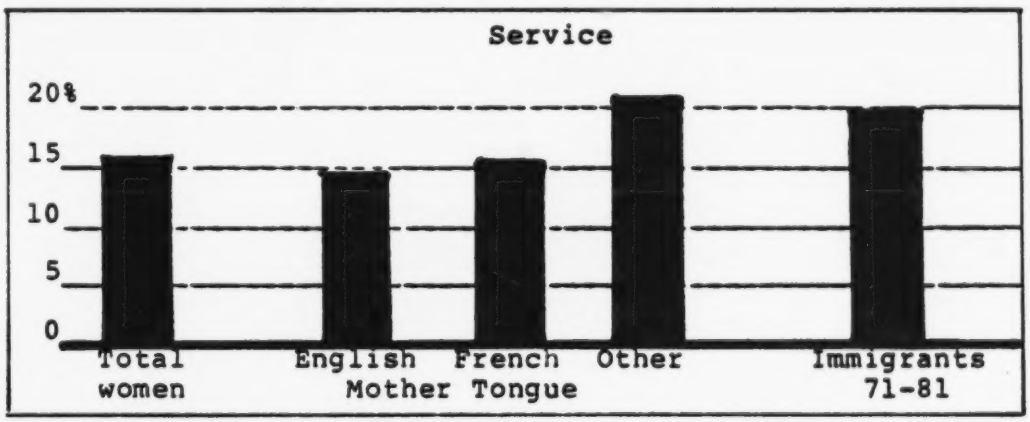
Two of the lowest paid sectors of the Canadian work force are the service and fabricating occupations. Half the female target group - illiterate women workers -are employed in these sectors (see column 4 "% of Target group" in Table 20). 1 in 3 pecent immigrant women work in these jobs, in comparison to 1 in 5 of all women workers.

A. 1 SERVICE OCCUPATIONS

20% of recent immigrant women (and other mother-tongue speakers) work in the service occupations as babysitters, waitresses, domestic workers, dishwashers, office cleaners and hotel workers etc. In fact, women immigrating between 1971-81, target group women and other mother tongue speakers are all disproportionately represented when compared to all women, and English mother-tongue speakers: 14.8% of English mother tongue speakers work in service occupations.

No indication of racial background is offered by the Census. However, many workers in the domestic workers union are visible minorities as are many childcare and hotel workers. Those from the Caribbean often speak a non-standard variety of English or French. The Census data does not indicate how many of the English or French mother-tongue groups in fact speak a non-standard dialect or a Creole. If these women are in the target group they need very special literacy training. (Many literacy programs are unsuitable for non-standard dialect speakers, and some published material is racist in content.

FIGURE 13: THE DISTRIBUTION OF VARIOUS GROUPS OF WOMEN IN THE SERVICE OCCUPATIONS COMPARED TO ALL CANADIAN WOMEN.



Source : Census of Canada 1981, Catalogue 92-917 Table 3 & Catalogue 92-918, Table 1.

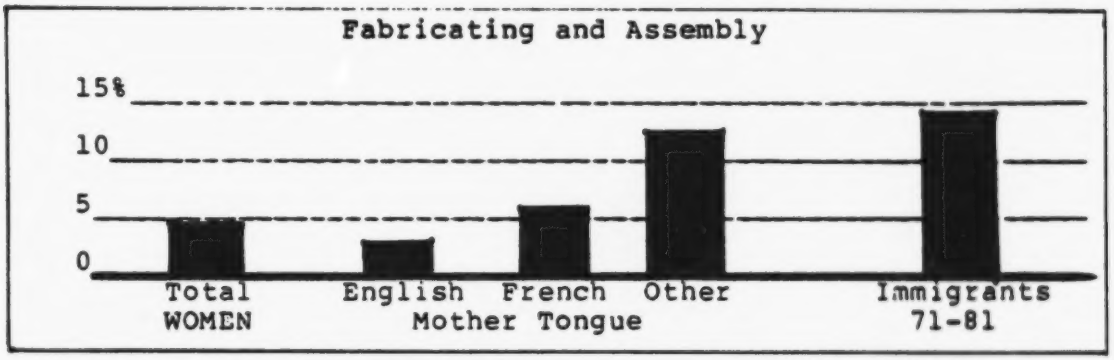
1 in 3 of the target group of working women illiterates has some kind of service job. A larger proportion of immigrants than Canadian born individuals are employed in this sector.

A. 2 PRODUCT FABRICATING & ASSEMBLING OCCUPATIONS

4.9% of all women work in this sector - 1 in 20 of all working women. By comparison 14.3% of recent immigrants work here. These are the garment and textile workers, the sewing machine operators and assembly-line workers, where the conditions of work in this sector have been characterized as "horrendous", the speed "frantic", the pay "meager" (McGowan, 1982 p.6).

This occupational category employs 17.4% of the target group. Fully 36.6% of all women working in this sector have less than a grade 9 level of education, nearly 80% have less than grade 13.

FIGURE 14: THE DISTRIBUTION OF VARIOUS GROUPS OF WOMEN IN THE FABRICATING AND ASSEMBLY OCCUPATIONS.

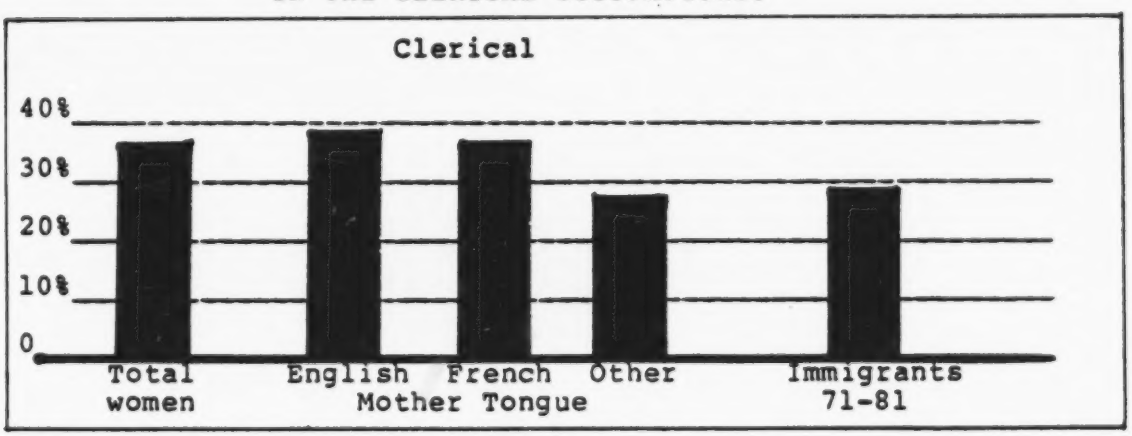


Source : Census of Canada 1981, Catalogue 92-917 Table3 and Catalogue 92-918, Table 1.

B. CLERICAL

1.7 million women (36.3% of all women workers) are employed in clerical occupations. The jobs included in this category range from mail and file clerks, receptionists and secretaries to bookkeepers and computer operators. There is a low incidence of workers lacking a formal education. 3% of the workers in clerical jobs have less than a grade 9 education, compared with Product Fabricating, for example, which has 37%. Because of the large size of this occupational group this 3% constitutes 12% of the target group women. This probably reflects the number of older women who lack formal education and qualifications but who gained access to this sector prior to recent higher educational requirements.

FIGURE 15 : THE DISTRIBUTION OF VARIOUS GROUPS OF WOMEN IN THE CLERICAL OCCUPATIONS.

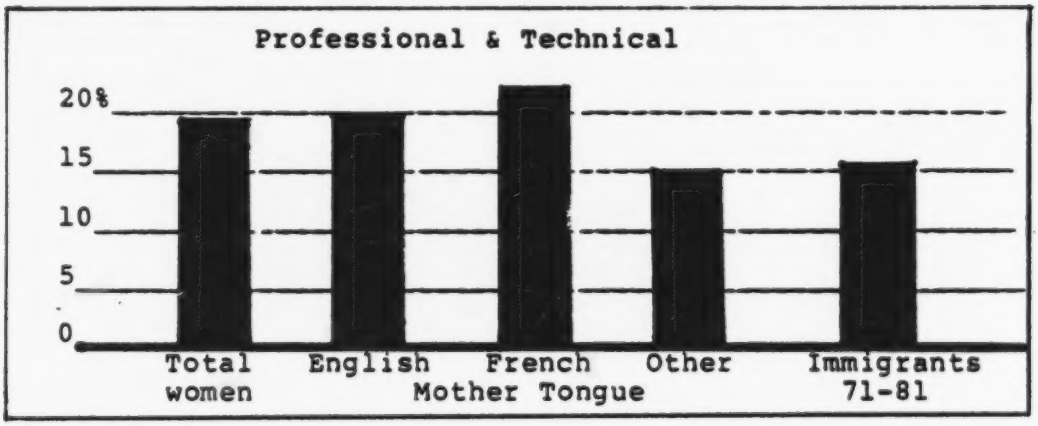


Source : Census of Canada 1981, Catalogue 92-917 Table3 and Catalogue 92-918, Table 1.

C. PROFESSIONAL AND TECHNICAL

The jobs included in this sector vary considerably. As Table 19 shows, 52% of workers in the professional and technical occupations are women: 48% are men. However, as was seen in the income section in Figure 12, very few women are paid at the same rate as men. Part of the reason for this may be found in the differing qualifications held by women compared to men in certain occupational groups. We can take medical and health as an example. 78% of the employees in this group are women. 12% of women medical workers have university degrees, another 12% have an educational level of grade 13 or lower, the majority have a university certificate or diploma. Of men, 55% have university degrees, 9% have less than grade 13.

FIGURE 16 : THE DISTRIBUTION OF VARIOUS GROUPS OF WOMEN IN THE PROFESSIONAL AND TECHNICAL OCCUPATIONS



Source : Census of Canada 1981, Catalogue 92-917 Table 3 & Catalogue 92-918, Table 1.

Despite the 62% increase in the size of the female workforce over the last decade, the proportion of women in "professional" occupations has increased by 2%, from 17.8% in 1970 to 19.7% in 1981. In contrast to 1970 when a greater proportion of recent immigrant women (1961-71) compared to all women were employed in the professional and technical category, in 1980 a smaller proportion of recent immigrant women worked here. **16.4% of those immigrating between 1971-81, and 15.2% of "other" mother tongue speakers work in the "professional and technical" category compared to more than 20% of English or French mother-tongue speakers.**

3% of women in this occupational group are in the target group. That is, 6% of women workers who have less than a grade 9 level of education work in the professions: over half work in medicine and health. This in part is due to the way the Census classifies occupations. For example, "nursing attendants" are included in the medicine and health professions and most of these have less than a grade 9 education.

TABLE 21 : DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONS BY GROUPS IN THE MALE CANADIAN WORK-FORCE.

MEN	All men	Imm. men (71-80)	Other M.T.	% of Target Group	%<Gr9 in Occup.
All Occupations	100%*	100%*	100%*	100%*	15%
Managerial and Admin.	11.3	8.9	9.8	3.9	5.4
Natural Science,Eng. & Mathematics	4.9	8.9	5.9	0.5	1.6
Social Sciences	1.3	0.8	0.8	0.1	1.7
Religion	0.4	0.5	0.3	0.1	4.4
Teaching	2.9	2.3	2.3	0.1	0.7
Medicine & Health	1.7	2.7	1.7	0.4	3.3
Artistic,Literary & Recreational	1.5	1.5	1.1	0.5	5.0
TOTAL PROF + TECH	12.7	16.7	12.1	1.7	2.1
Clerical	7.0	6.9	5.2	3.7	6.6
Sales	8.7	6.1	6.6	4.8	8.6
Service	9.6	13.7	11.5	11.6	18.7
Farming, Horticult. & Animal Husbandry	5.3	2.1	6.6	10.8	31.2
Fishing,Hunt.,Trap.	0.5	-	0.2	1.6	45.5
Forestry & Logging	1.1	0.2	0.6	2.5	35.0
Mining & Quarrying	1.1	0.3	0.6	1.5	22.4
TOTAL PRIMARY	8.0	2.6	8.0	16.4	31.5
Processing	5.3	6.1	5.8	8.3	23.8
Machining	4.1	7.8	5.9	4.2	15.7
Product Fabricating & Assembling	10.2	14.8	12.1	10.4	15.7
Construction	10.9	8.1	13.2	15.4	21.9
Transport	6.2	2.9	3.8	9.9	24.4
Materials Handling	2.7	2.1	2.4	3.9	22.3
Other Crafts & Equipment Operating	1.6	1.3	1.2	1.0	9.3
Occupations not classified elsewhere	1.8	1.9	2.1	2.9	24.6

* Parts do not add precisely to 100% due to rounding.

Source :Census of Canada 1981, Catalogues 92-917 Table 3 and 92-918 Table 1.

8.3 MEN WORKERS

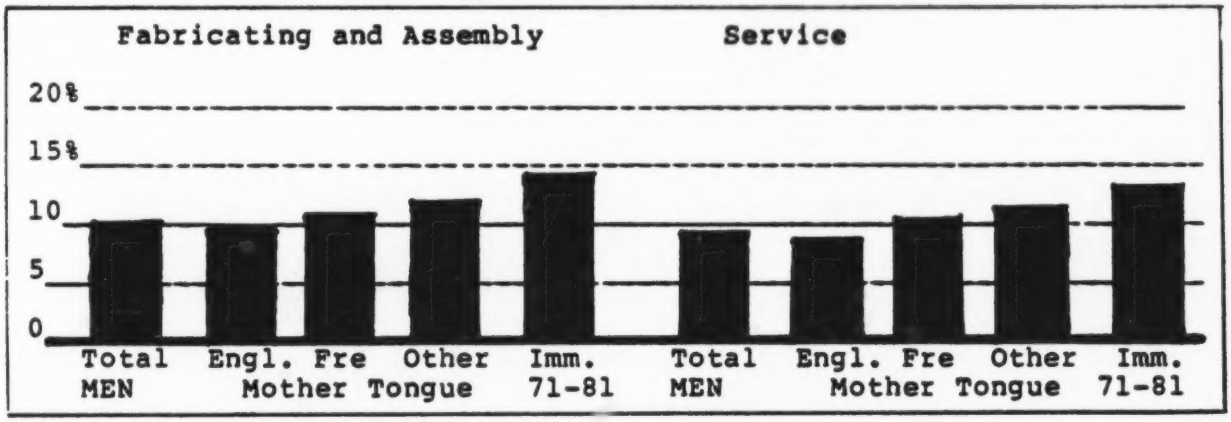
The male labour force expanded by 25% over the last decade to over 7 million workers. While women workers are concentrated in a few occupations, men are spread much more evenly throughout the various occupational groups. No more than 11% of the total male workforce is employed in any one sector even though men outnumber women in 16 of the 21 occupational groupings. **15% of the male work force could be classified as functionally illiterate: just over one million men.** The Primary sector is the occupational category with the highest proportion of target group workers: nearly 1 in 3 workers employed here falls into the target group. However, the proportion of recent immigrant men in this category is relatively small (2.6%). "Other" mother-tongue men are as likely to work in this sector as all Canadian men.

8.4 RECENT IMMIGRANT MEN

A. SERVICE AND PRODUCT FABRICATING & ASSEMBLY

29% of recent immigrant men and 25% of "other" mother tongue speakers work in these jobs. The two sectors account for 25% of the target group. By contrast, nearly 20% of all men work in these two categories.

FIGURE 17: PROPORTION OF DIFFERENT GROUPS OF MEN WORKING IN SERVICE AND FABRICATING & ASSEMBLY OCCUPATIONS.

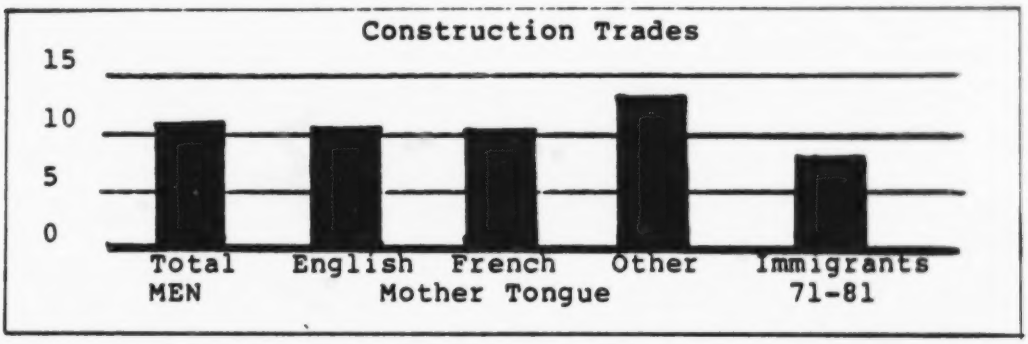


Source : Census of Canada 1981, Catalogue 92-917 Table3 and Catalogue 92-918, Table 1.

B. CONSTRUCTION

Another 15 % of the target group work in Construction. Only 8% of recent immigrant men work in these jobs in comparison to 13% of "other" mother tongue speakers (see table 21).

FIGURE 18: THE DISTRIBUTION OF VARIOUS GROUPS OF MEN IN THE CONSTRUCTION TRADES.

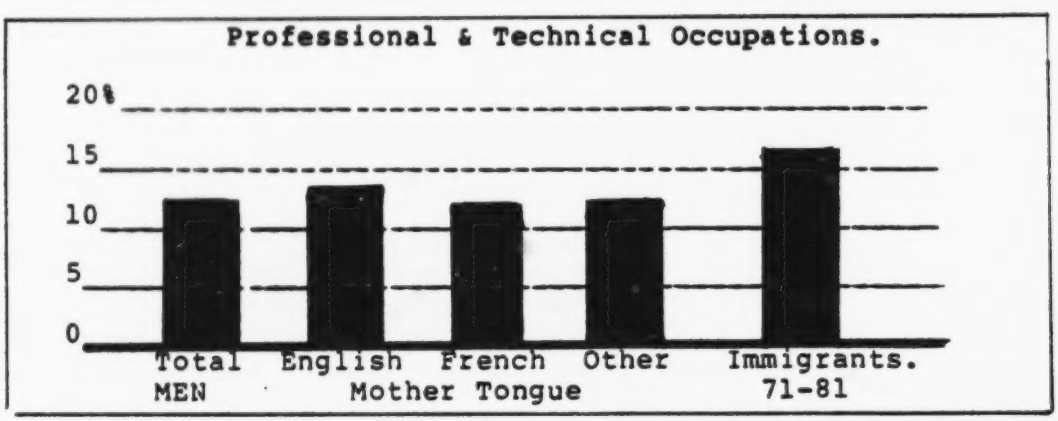


Source : Census of Canada 1981, Catalogue 92-917 Table 3 and Catalogue 92-918, Table 1.

D. PROFESSIONAL AND TECHNICAL OCCUPATIONS

In this category, a greater proportion of recent immigrant men than all men is employed : 16.7% compared to 12.7%. (All of this difference is accounted for in the differing proportions in the "Natural Science/Engineering" and "Mathematics" occupations.) In part this may reflect immigration policies which have been inclined to favour well educated immigrants capable of filling jobs for which qualified Canadians could not be found, e.g. for academic posts in the universities in the 1970's. 2.1% of workers in the "professions" are in the target group. As was pointed out with respect to women workers, much of this may be accounted for in part by older workers who acquired professional jobs at a time when formal qualifications were less important and also by some of the Census classifications.

FIGURE 19 : THE DISTRIBUTION OF VARIOUS GROUPS OF MEN WITHIN THE PROFESSIONAL & TECHNICAL OCCUPATIONS.



Source : Census of Canada 1981, Catalogue 92-917 Table 3 and

TABLE 22: SUMMARY OF STATISTICAL DATA

1. ORIGINS OF IMMIGRANTS (1978-1983)	25% from traditional sources - (U.K., U.S., & France) 40% from Asia.
2. IMMIGRATION BY CLASS (1979-83)	30% Independent 20% Refugee + Designated 41% Family 9% Assisted Relative
Workers vs Non-Workers (78-82)	44% Workers 56% Non-Workers (15%-spouse)
3. DESTINATION OF IMMIGRANTS (1978-1982)	90% to 4 Provinces: Ont. (44%), Que. (17%), B.C. (16%), Alberta (13%).
4. OFFICIAL LANGUAGES	
a) official language ability	41-51% immigrants 1979-82 had none on arrival.
b) Linguistic Background of Canadian Population	61% English 26% French 0.5% Indian & Inuktitut 12.5% Other
c) Alphabet of "Other" Mother-Tongue Speakers	34% Non-Roman 66% Roman Alphabetics
5. FUNCTIONAL ILLITERATES	3.5 million in Canada=22.3%
% by Province	Quebec (29.56%) Alberta (14.01%) Ontario (19.58%) B.C. (14.4%)
In Alberta, Ontario, B.C.	1) 27-36% of target group are from "other" countries. 2) 38-43% are "other" mother tongue speakers.
In Quebec	1) 83% target group speak French. 2) 10% are "other" mother-tongue speakers: 7% speak English m-t.
6. INCOME	
a) Average Income of population (with income, from all sources)	7.2% of population $44,606 14.4% " " $23,880 22.4% " " $15,515 56.4% " " $ 5,162

cont'd..

6b) Level of Income : Proportion of each group which receives income at 2 levels: above $15,000+, below $6,000

Above 15,000p.a.	men	50% ; immigrant men 55%, recent immigrants 46%
	women	16% inside or outside Canada 14% recent immigrants
Below $6,000p.a.	men	23% born inside & recent imm.
	women	49% born inside, 46% outside 43% recent immigrants

c) Income/Education: average income of workers (1980 rounded).

men +degree	$30,000 p.a.
woman +degree	$14,000 p.a.
men -grade9	$14,000 p.a.
women -grade9	$ 7,000 p.a.

d)Attained Education & Income correlate highly if sexes considered seperately.

BUT greater attendance does not correlate with higher income like higher attainment does.

7. LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION

High:	Male/Female recent immigrants
Low :	1)All Functional illiterates 2)Population speaking neither official language

8. LABOUR FORCE: 1.5 million workers in Target Group

% in Target Group	15% of men workers 10% of women workers

OCCUPATIONS

Women	60% work in Clerical, Sales & Service categories.
Recent Women Immigrants	34% work in Service and Product Fabricating & Assembly.
Target Group Women	50% work in Service & Fabricating

Men are distributed more evenly amongst occupations

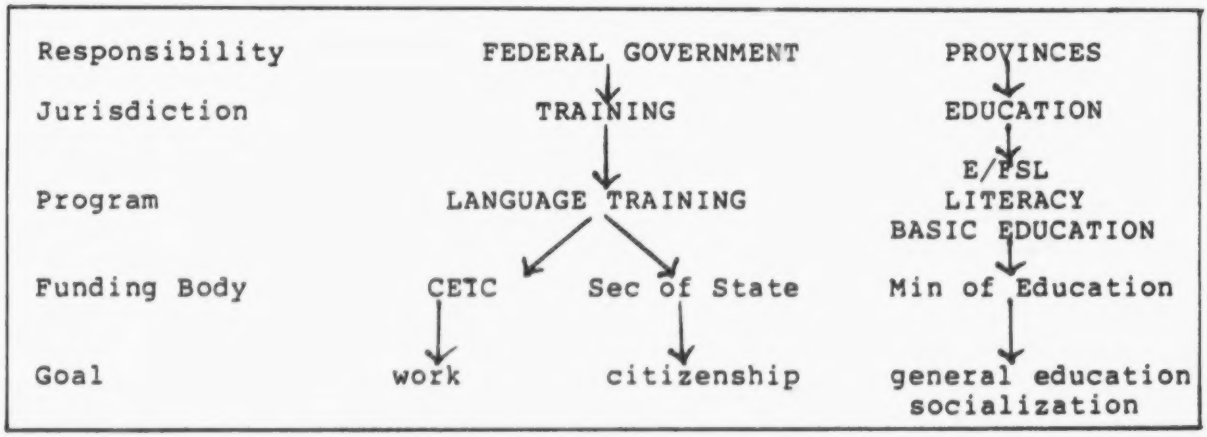
Recent Men Immigrants	29% work in Service & Product Fabricating & Assembly.
Target Group Men	62% in 4 sectors: All Primary, Construction, Fabricating & Service.

CHAPTER 4: GOVERNMENT POLICY - LITERACY AND OFFICIAL LANGUAGE TRAINING.

1. FEDERAL POLICIES

The division of powers between the federal and provincial governments in Canada is not clear-cut in the area of language and literacy training and education. Under the British North America Act (Section 93), the provinces have exclusive jurisdiction over matters of education . Thus, most literacy and basic education programs are both administered and funded by the provinces. On the other hand, training is a federal responsibility. This is shared by the Commission for Employment and Immigration (CEIC) and the Secretary of State's Department, both federal bodies. As far as the CEIC is concerned, training may be defined as a form of education specifically for work, and include both industrial and language training. Thus, the language training funded by CEIC is provided for those immigrants who need it to obtain a job and who are destined directly for the workforce. The Secretary of State's Department concerns itself with preparing immigrants for citizenship. The scope of the mandates of the two federal ministries as far as language and literacy training is concerned is limited to the two specific goals of work and citizenship. No federal ministry has responsibility for providing language and literacy training for the more general goal of social integration of immigrants.

FIGURE 20: FEDERAL & PROVINCIAL DIVISION OF POWERS



1.1 IMMIGRATION POLICY

In order to establish which immigrants are eligible for language training one has to know under which immigration category they were admitted, and the policies surrounding their admission.

Canada's immigration policy attempts to reconcile various "immigration imperatives" among which are: respect for the

family, response to domestic manpower demands and humanitarian concerns (Immigration Policy Perspectives, p.33). In order to best meet the current requirements of the labour market, Canada exercises a high degree of selectivity through the "points" scheme. Points are awarded for practical experience, job-training, official language ability, education, age, etc. To ensure that immigrants accepted into this country possess work skills that are in demand "employment-related factors account for almost half the total possible rating points" (Canada's immigration law - an overview, p.14). This measure is seen as being in the best interests of both Canada's economic welfare and the immigrants personal welfare since it increases the likelihood that appropriate and gainful employment is quickly found and the stresses of integration are lessened.

1.2 CLASSES OF IMMIGRANTS

Three main classes of immigrant are admissible to Canada: family class, Convention refugees, and independent and others. Only certain of the independent applicants are assessed on all elements of the points system (described in Canada's immigration law - an overview, pp.10-13).

Family Class applicants - spouses, children, parents, grandparents, etc. -are not assessed using the points system but must meet basic standards of good health and character. The sponsoring relative in Canada must agree to maintain them for up to ten years.

Independent and other immigrants is a class which includes assisted relatives, self-employed persons, entrepreneurs and other immigrants applying on their own initiative. Entrepreneurs and self-employed immigrants are not rated on whether they have arranged employment or on occupational demand. Assisted relatives are not assessed on language factors, location and arranged employment since a Canadian relative has to have promised to support them, if necessary, for a period of five years.

Convention Refugees are assessed according to the same set of factors used to select independent applicants (but they are not subject to the point-rating system). This assessment in combination with the amount of settlement assistance provided them by governmental or non-governemntal agencies determines whether or not a Convention refugee will be allowed to settle permanently in Canada. The majority of "displaced and persecuted" persons do not technically qualify as Convention refugees under the terms of the agreement made in the United Nations. However, in times of crisis, selection criteria are relaxed to admit people on humanitarian grounds. Some are admitted under family class, some as assisted relatives. In the case of the Indochinese refugees, groups were admitted under a **designated class.**

While attempting to balance the three basic aspects of its immigration policy, Canada admits a large proportion of immigrants (70% in 1979-1983) without employing the constraints

of the full points system. It is inevitable, therefore, that some immigrants will be admitted who do not possess adequate official language or work skills but who, subsequently, wish to join the labour force.

1.3 IMMIGRATION CLASS AND LANGUAGE TRAINING

Employment destined immigrants may be eligible for CEIC language training if they need additional language skills to obtain a job. This necessity is determined by the assessment of an immigration officer (CEIC Employment Manual, section 29.07).

Some independent immigrants (Code ND2), Convention refugees (Codes CR1-4) and designated immigrants (Codes DC1-4) may be eligible for both full-time language training and subsistence allowances while on a course. Assisted relatives and family class immigrants are eligible for subsidized classes if they are destined directly for the workforce. They do not usually receive allowances since their sponsors have undertaken to finance them. However, in a case where "breakdown in sponsorship or a need is identified" by an immigration officer, allowances may be authorized (Employment Manual, section 29.07).

These language programs are administered by the provinces but funded by CEIC by means of buying seats in local programs. Participants are, in principle, eligible for six months full-time training irrespective of their entry level of language and literacy or professional language needs. This time limitation may result in inadequate training for immigrants at both ends of the spectrum. A totally illiterate farmer with a non-European language background, for example, may not achieve a survival level of language, let alone literacy, in six months. By contrast, an immigrant destined for a job in the medical profession, for example, needs a very high level of oral competence as well as well-developed technical literacy skills in order to be able to work competently in his/her field of training.

The Employment and Immigration Advisory Council observed that both the quality and quantity of training offered varies a great deal between communities across Canada (The Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program [ISAP] p. 6). In some cases the courses were so short they were "judged to be practically useless" (p.6). At the same time many immigrants find employment before completing the courses and leave without achieving the desired level of literacy.

The composition of the immigrant population arriving in Canada has changed radically during the last two decades. No longer do professional Europeans predominate. In order to reach a level of competence in an official language adequate to pursue their occupation in the Canadian context, it may be that immigrants arriving now need longer training designed to achieve more specific and more relevant goals.

1.4 UNSKILLED IMMIGRANT WOMEN

Many immigrant women with low educational attainment do not receive full-time language training despite their lack of official language skills. This occurs for three main reasons. In the first place, 2 out of 3 immigrant women enter as family class or assisted relatives and do not qualify for allowances. A financial constraint may be placed upon them especially if their husband is receiving language training and supporting his family on his allowance. Secondly, some immigrant women are ineligible because they are not destined directly for the workforce. However, the study Three Years in Canada noted that immigrant wives tend to work in the paid labour force to a greater extent than Canadian wives (p. 42). This is supported by the labour force participation data from the 1981 Canadian Census concerning recent immigrant women versus Canadian-born women (see above page 48). Thus, despite their initial intention not to work, most immigrant women end up in the paid workforce. Third, of the undereducated women destined directly for the workforce, many are not prevented from finding jobs by their complete lack of English or French. For example, garment workers, dishwashers, and hotel maids often work where lack of mastery of an official language is no disadvantage. Communication with immediate supervisors and fellow workers may be in their native language, not in an official language of Canada. However, without official language and literacy skills, they may be trapped in these occupational ghettos - having to work but unable to gain official language facility, upgrade their skills and therefore be unable to get a better job.

The problems of this group of women were emphasised at the first National Conference on Immigrant Women held in Toronto in March, 1981. Jim Fleming-at that time the Minister of Multiculturalism - recognized that:

> the most economically vulnerable immigrants, namely unskilled immigrant women, receive the least benefit from them (government language programs). (The Immigrant Woman in Canada: a Right to Recognition, p.26).

On the same occasion Jim Fleming acknowledged that language training is the "key to successful settlement" but that neither the programs of the Secretary of State nor those of CEIC specifically addresses the crucial aspect of language training for "immigrant integration" (p. 26).

The Department of the Secretary of State

Language and literacy courses funded by the Secretary of State's Department share citizenship as their goal. Courses tend to be organized around the subject matter required for the citizenship hearing, including the history, geography and institutions of Canada. A multiplicity of courses is partially

funded by the Secretary of State's Department in conjunction with other levels of government and non-governmental agencies. This funding covers teachers' salaries and textbooks but not administrative costs of organisation, recruitment, assessment and evaluation. The language courses are offered on a part-time basis, and learners' allowances are normally not provided. Since citizenship is the goal, individuals who are already citizens are not eligible to participate in these courses, irrespective of their official language attainment.

1.5 NEW POLICY DIRECTIONS?

The problem of adult illiteracy among Canadian workers has been addressed in several reports prepared for the Federal Government in the last five years. In particular, immigrants and "educationally disadvantaged adults" have been pinpointed as priority groups "whose self-reliance, participation and productivity are handicapped by poor access to learning opportunities" (Learning for Life, p.10). Basic education is considered a right by two of the latest reports, and plans for action to eradicate illiteracy are offered. Adult illiteracy is called a "major problem," a "pressing priority" and a "national disgrace".

The terms of reference of these studies overlapped and thus the findings and recommendations have been repetitive rather than complementary. In particular, Work for Tomorrow and Learning for Life contain nine recommendations in common. Therefore, the following discussion focuses on the composite group of recommendations with respect to immigrant workers.

The Reports

1. Education and Working Canadians, the report of the Commission of Inquiry on Educational Leave and Productivity chaired by Roy Adams, 1979.

2. Labour Market Development in the 80's, Task Force on Labour Market Development chaired by D. Dodge, 1981.

3. Work for Tomorrow: Employment Opportunites for the 80's, the report of the Federal Parliamentary Task Force on Employment Opportunities for the 80's, chaired by Warren Allmand, no date.

4. Learning for Life: Overcoming the Seperation of Work and Learning, the report of the National Advisory Panel on Skill Development Leave, chaired by Anne Ironside, 1984.

The Recommendations

A. PAID EDUCATIONAL LEAVE

The establishment of paid educational leave was one of the creative suggestions put forward by the Adams Commission in 1979 and echoed by Learning for Life in 1984 (also by the Jean Commission in Quebec). The International Labour Organization defined this term in Convention 140, 1974 :

> paid educational leave means leave granted to a worker for educational purposes for a specified period during working hours with adequate financial entitlements (quoted in From the adult point of view, p.27).

The implementation of this suggestion would go some way to overcoming the major barriers to educational access described by the Institut Canadien d'Education des Adultes in their booklet, From the Adult point of View. It might facilitate the participation of those excluded by financial, time and scheduling constraints, or heavy family responsibilities: in particular, women carrying a "double burden". It might encourage those unable to take after-work classes because of excessively fatiguing work to seek literacy training, for example. For working immigrants, particularly immigrant women, the day release type of paid educational leave might give them the opportunity they need to take advantage of language or literacy courses, or other kinds of worker education. (Winnie Ng, representing the predominantly immigrant Garment Workers Union, included paid day-release educational leave as one of her union's main demands in a presentation made to the Conference "Workers and their Communities" in Toronto, in May, 1984.

Learning for Life included the reservation that "no more than 2% of the workforce of any one establishment (be) absent on literacy leave at any one time" (p.14). This restriction would be detrimental to the interests of illiterate immigrant women since they tend to be heavily concentrated in "job ghettos" in the service and product fabricating and assembly occupations where a larger proportion of the workforce is likely to be functionally illiterate. If only 2% of the workers could participate in literacy classes at one time only in the very largest establishments could work-place based classes be organised. As Arnopoulos and others observed, some of the problems of immigrant women workers are: not knowing their rights on the job, fear of union organizing and being unable to communicate with the bosses. On-the-job literacy and language classes can be an effective vehicle for supplying this basic information and airing problems common to workers in the same organisation. In businesses employing less than 100 workers only 2 could be on literacy leave at the same time, and thus group classes would be ruled out. This may be a divisive force in the workplace, rather than bringing workers together to consider collective problems, it might result in further isolation and alienation.

In fact, workplace classes always face a double dilemma. Whose interests do they serve and who pays? Management benefits by the establishment of workplace classes if the content is focused on the specific conditions operating in that particular industry or factory. Employers might see such classes as a way to reduce accidents and absenteeism, improve communications, or raise productivity and morale, facilitating more efficient operation of the plant. Workers in these classes might benefit in several ways. The time and location might enable them to attend on a more regular basis than at courses offered in the evenings at a local school, for example. In addition they might improve their general language and literacy skills, acquire work-related vocabulary, and generally improve their work environment. It is quite feasible to expect that management might be willing to contribute to the costs of such courses by way of a payroll levy, as suggested by Adams.

Workers may identify other needs and goals that they wish language and literacy classes to address but which management are not willing to finance. Instructors attempting to centre their courses on stated participant needs may be asked to use the union contract, labour codes, safety rules, working conditions, accident documentation, minimum wage laws, etc. as core content. Employers may feel threatened by such discussions taking place on company time and money. Some employers harbour additional fears that language classes will result in the formation of a union or that workers who acquire portable skills, such as offical language and literacy skills, will become dissatisfied and leave their jobs. To facilitate the provision of educational opportunities geared to workers' needs and interests classes with this orientation need to be offered at locations such as the union hall or community centre. The right to Educational Leave is essential for workers to gain access to educational opportunities.

B. BASIC TRAINING FOR SKILL DEVELOPMENT (BTSD) & BASIC JOB READINESS TRAINING (BJRT)

In recent years, the C.E.I.C. has committed most of its funds for basic literacy training to the Basic Training for Skill Development and Basic Job Readiness programs. These are courses designed to upgrade the academic knowledge of workers and provide them with job search techniques. Participants receive allowances or U.I.C. benefits while taking the courses. Both the Work for Tomorrow and Learning for Life recommended that one firm action the Federal Government could take would be to increase funding for these programs. In contrast, the Dodge Task Force specifically recommended reducing funding for BTSD/BJRT programs and concentrating on training highly skilled workers. The Federal Government appears to have heeded Dodge's counsel. In 1975-6 44,910 full-time trainees were enrolled in B.T.S.D. (From the adult's point of view, p.27) whereas in 1982-83 the number had dropped to 20,220 (C.E.I.C Annual Report 82-83, Table 4). This number may be compared to the estimated 1.5 million working functional illiterates. (See above page 47.)

C. UNEMPLOYED WORKERS AND LANGUAGE COURSE

Learning for Life suggested that unemployed workers be allowed to take a literacy course while receiving UIC benefits.

At this time it is not clear whether UIC regulations allow workers to take literacy classes while receiving UIC. However, unemployed workers are allowed to take official language classes under certain conditions. At present, workers receiving unemployment insurance benefits may extend the period of their benefits if, on the recommendation of their employment counsellor, they enroll in an approved, intensive official language class (usually offered by private language schools). This program is open to both landed immigrants and citizens alike. For illiterate immigrants, this would present an opportunity to improve their language skills while gaining literacy training.

D. COMMUNITY PROJECTS

Learning for Life suggested that additional funding come from the federal and provincial governments for "non-profit groups who now work with or who might work with the illiterate" (p.14), while Work for Tomorrow recommended that the two levels of government "work together...with interested groups to provide facilities and resources to deal effectively with this problem" (p.72, my emphasis). Both reports mentioned "community teachers".

Immigrant women, particularly those from societies where the role of women is radically different from that in Canadian society, need support from the community to ease their adjustment to their new life. Thus initiatives to adequately fund existing worthwhile community-based programs on a long-term basis and start new ones would be welcome.

At present the delivery of literacy activities is fragmentary at best. Excellent programs exist, but community-based groups are drastically overextended and underfunded. They are propelled mainly by the immense energy of the literacy workers employed. However, their existence is tenuous. None have longterm funding, and valuable time must be spent searching for money to continue in operation. Literacy training is a slow process and requires a longterm commitment, a guarantee of service. It is difficult to offer much if any continuity if there is always the possibility that the program will be terminated at short notice.

E. VOLUNTEERS

Both Work for Tomorrow and Learning for Life emphasize the use of volunteers rather than the provision of a core service by permanent paid teachers. The latter mentions training a "corps of

volunteers" whereas the former stresses the use of volunteers for "one-to-one teaching". While the contribution of volunteers cannot be discounted, putting primary stress on the use of voluntary labour is incompatible with supplying a viable solution for a "major problem". A society that depends on volunteers to teach literacy skills "clearly does not view literacy as a basic right of all its members" (Horsman, 1983 p.9).

Sidney Pratt, working on the assumption that adults have a right of access to basic education, insists that a system must be built that operates for the benefit of the illiterate, providing services when and where they are needed, not at the "pleasure of the good-willed volunteer" (1983, p.49). Thus, she insists that a core service be provided and that volunteers be used to "enrich the process of education" (p.53), just as they are in other educational activities. This view is particularly relevant to the needs of immigrant women (and most Canadian-born women too) since they often have pressing family responsibilities in addition to fatiguing jobs that severely limit their free time.

The emphasis on "one-to-one" tutoring is also a subject for debate. As illiterates outnumber professional teachers it is impossible to employ people to teach literacy with the ratio of one teacher to one learner. The use of volunteers is seen as the only economic solution. One prevalent attitude is that illiteracy is "somehow shameful, like a social disease" (Pratt, 1983 p.49) and that illiterates will only come forward for literacy training if their anonymity is preserved. Essentially, in this view, the individual is blamed for his illiteracy and therefore the solution is seen as being individual too.

Alienation and isolation are characterisitic of illiterates. Teaching them one by one tends to "enhance the attitudes of shamefulness and isolation" (Pratt, 1983 p.51), while providing social or group learning opportunities can reinforce a sense of self-worth and enhance confidence through the realization that they are not alone but share problems with many others.

In response to this recommendation to boost the volunteer element in literacy activities, the latest CEIC funding initiatives are designed to provided "assistance with the development and operation of experiments in literacy training. Voluntary non-profit organizations...are currently being asked to submit a proposal for funding assistance."(John Roberts, personal communication August 1984, p.3). Apparently this funding is to recruit and train volunteer teachers, identify potential trainees, and defray general administration costs. The volunteer tutors

> will be better educated youth under the age of 25 who are presently unemployed...(It will)... enable young individuals to undertake useful and productive activity in the voluntary sector pending their return to regular employment in the labour force (Roberts, p.3).

However, Mr.Roberts did not elaborate on how these youths would be pursuaded to undertake such activities. Would they continue to receive UIC benefits while tutoring but at the same time be expected to be searching for gainful employment? For immigrants needing a language component to their literacy instruction, volunteers are unlikely to possess the necessary knowledge and skills. (It is interesting to note that in the Secretary of State's Second Language Monitor Program, the monitors involved are not used as teachers but as assistants. Their role in language teaching is one of enrichment not, primarily, instruction.)

F. PUBLICITY CAMPAIGN

Launching a major publicity campaign is suggested in order to publicize the issue of functional illiteracy in Canada, sensitize the public to the problem of functional illiteracy and pursuade a corps of volunteers to come forward. Learning for Life thought that the costs for this program should be shared by the federal government and "any province participating in the program and making education and training free and accessible to all who meet the objective criteria" (p.15). What the "objective criteria" are is not spelled out but the implication of this statement seems to be that a free basic education should be a right, and that real access should be facilitated. If this implied that immigrants would also enjoy this right once permanent Canadian residence had been established it would be a step forward. However, the perpetual problem of administering a national educational policy equitably across the country is raised. The division of powers between the provincial and federal governments where education is concerned renders a national policy difficult to implement, without clear planning and goodwill between federal and provincial authorities.

As Harman and Hunter (1979) pointed out, media campaigns reach some illiterates but not those most in need; in particular, not the groups which include those sections of the ethnic population that lack official language skills and formal education. The experience of the British campaign tends to support this view. Television was widely used to publicize the problem, find tutors and learners, eradicate the stigma of illiteracy and broadcast literacy lessons too. The campaign was called a success, and certainly the numbers of people coming forward for literacy training increased from 5,000 individuals in 1975 to 100,000 in 1977, However, when viewed against the size of the target population, it was estimated that 7% had been reached and about 30% of these either did not begin training or dropped out after a few weeks (Jones & Charnley, 1978 p.5).

One side-effect of a major publicity campaign might be to "sensitize" people already working with and amongst the functionally illiterate, particularly those working among the unemployed, those on welfare, battered women, tenants, unionized and ununionized labour and community and ethnic groups, etc.

These community workers are perhaps closest to a large segment of the illiterate population and in a good position to be influential in helping them gain access to literacy training; particularly if the literacy training were linked to community concerns such as tenants' issues, health care, workers' rights or welfare problems. This kind of training might help illiterates to better cope with, understand, and set about solving some of the problems that affect them daily; and therefore result in relevant literacy learning.

G. WORK-PLACE EDUCATION DELEGATES

The idea of establishing "education delegates in the workplace to link learners in the workplace with local counselling and training opportunities" (Learning for Life, p.11) is a recommendation that if implemented might greatly benefit immigrant workers. One of the recognized problems of immigrant workers who possess inadequate official language capabilities is lack of information: information about services, worker rights, legal and human rights etc. Any initiative that could link linguistically isolated workers with useful worker-education programs or language/literacy programs may help bridge the communication gap.

H. A TEN YEAR RIGHT-TO-READ PROGRAM

Such a program was proposed in Work for Tomorrow in 1981. Learning for Life viewed its recommendations as constituent elements of a ten year campaign. Work for Tomorrow suggested a high priority be given to "national achievement certificates for reading, writing, and arithmetic in both official languages..to achieve basic literacy standards in Canada" (p.73). This might be beneficial if such a policy implied the replacement of formal educational requirements (expressed in grade levels) with functional criteria, for entry into certain occupations and job-training schemes . In fact, the adoption of functional literacy standards may be much more relevant and useful to immigrants who do not feel a need to acquire a grade school education, but do need to be functionally literate.

I. DISTANCE PROGRAMS

The needs of illiterates living in isolated or rural areas have been recognized by Learning for Life and Work for Tomorrow. The latter stresses the use of community workers whereas the former mentions the use of "modern telecommunications"(p.14). Some immigrants may be encouraged to settle in the more remote parts of Canada to fill local labour market demands. However, the majority of service networks, ethnic support groups and community organisations are concentrated in urban centres. (For example in B.C. 75% of ESL classes are offered in Vancouver, but 50% of immigrants settle elsewhere.) Greater support is needed

Fidel Castro's Revolutionary Government gave the eradication of illiteracy the highest priority and viewed it as an essential ingredient in economic and cultural progress. It was a medium necessary for instructing people in ideas and the policies of revolutionary socialism and was accompanied by action- for example, improvements in health care and food distribution. The strength of the political will involved was reflected in the quantity of resources allocated to the effort and in the intensive publicity campaign. Diverse forms of media were used: the press, radio, T.V., celebrations, public meetings, manifestos, granting diplomas, etc. Regions competed with each other to be the first to abolish illiteracy from its boundaries. All this activity mobilized the masses behind the thrust for literacy.

David Harman summed up his feelings about programs for adult illiterates in an interview with Jonathan Kozol:

> Education of adult illiterates without some parallel form of socioeconomic transformation is unthinkable. It has to be accompanied by food and land and health care and the rest. Without these items no endeavour has ever yet achieved even a marginal success. (Kozol, 1979 p.74 his emphasis)

1.4 Other Successful Campaigns

Cuba is not the only country which has experienced success in its campaign to eradicate illiteracy. The Conseil International pour l'Education des Adultes (1983) analysed successful campaigns arriving at five common factors. Their conclusions will be stated briefly since lessons may well lie therein (Institut Canadien d'éducation des adultes, 1983 p14).

Firstly, national involvement and the existence of "une politique énoncée" was paramount. Certain policy aspects seemed to be lacking in over-ambitious programs which did not achieve their goals. These were: lack of clear, detailed objectives, lack of preparation, lack of definition of needs in terms of finance and personnel requirements and lack of political will.

Secondly, the active participation of the people as a whole was crucial. This factor was interpreted as corresponding to a program that was in the interests of the community. It was felt that values and objectives that were imposed and not linked to the development of the country or the community had little chance of success.

for the community workers in towns in rural areas, along with recognition of the very different nature of the problems they deal with.

J. A FEDERAL RESPONSIBILITY CENTRE

Learning for Life suggested a "responsibility centre" be established in the Federal Government to provide information and assist in coordinating activities and improving program design or delivery (p.15). This idea has considerable merit; particularly, if it resulted in an efficient communications network between programs and in a simplified and speedy system for allocating funds, replacing the labrynth of funding agencies, ministries and departments that currently process applications for money for literacy activities.

The allocation of adequate funds to develop and publish literacy materials that would be applicable in different parts of the country, for different levels and in a variety of Canadian contexts would be a logical contribution. In particular, the Federal Government might play a central role in facilitating the development of core curriculum materials based on information about key programs under federal jurisdiction such as, UIC, immigration rules, deportation regulations, constitutional rights, taxation, or health and welfare.

2. PROVINCIAL POLICY

The provinces are responsible for administering several official language/literacy programs that are funded by and in the jurisdictions of the CEIC and the Secretary of State's Department. The objectives of these programs are quite specific: mainly skills for the workplace and for citizenship. Many immigrants are not eligible for or are unable to attend such programs. Moreover, the full range of immigrants' language/literacy needs is not always met nor is it intended to be met by these programs. There is a gap: for example, language and literacy for social integration and participation may be needed in many cases. These goals might come under some more general educational objective and thus be regarded as a provincial responsibility. However, there is little agreement as to whether the provinces acknowledge and exercise this responsibility. In the report Work for Tomorrow: Opportunites for the 80's the Task Force stated that lack of action on the part of the provinces did not

> prevent the Federal Government from involving itself in providing basic education (nor) release it from its obligation to ensure that basic literacy education is available to needy Canadians (p.72).

It is worthwhile, therefore, reviewing the stated policies of each province to establish the framework within which they provide education to their residents.

The authors wrote to each provincial Ministry of Education requesting information on their policies relating to the provision of official language and literacy training for immigrants. The responses varied from the provision of booklets, pamphlets and brochures describing policies, procedures and guidelines from Alberta, B.C., Manitoba, Ontario, Quebec and Saskatchewan to brief written statements from P.E.I. and Nova Scotia. New Brunswick and Newfoundland Ministries of Education had not replied by the time this report was completed.

We will focus on an examination of the policies of the four provinces which receive 90% of immigrants to Canada: Quebec, B.C., Alberta, & Ontario.

2.1 QUEBEC

Québec deserves special mention with respect to both its policy concerning immigrants and literacy training.

In line with its francization policy, Québec offers free French language training both to newly arrived immigrants and those who have been long established. In the past the training was mainly in the form of full-time intensive courses offered in the COFI's (Centre d'orientation et de formation des immigrantes). But in the last six or seven years "devant la multiplicité et la variété des besoins de sa clientèle" the pedagogical approach, type, content and scheduling of courses has been changed. In addition to day-time intensive courses at the COFI's, intensive weekends, part-time day and evening courses are offered and widely advertised in the press. Some of the part-time course are now given by local school commissions and at public CEGEP's (Rapport Annuel 1981-82, Ministère des Communautés Culturelles et de l'Immigration, p.35)

One program ("Cours sur mesure") for women immigrants, is particularly interesting. These special courses are arranged in response to the expressed needs of particular groups and taught "dans le mileu naturel" of the clients. Particular groups mentioned are women, groups of workers, refugees or ethnic groups. Their success is attributed to flexibility with respect to both organisation of materials and content.

The reported cost for these French language training activities in 1981-82 was nearly $10 million (Rapport Annuel 1981-82, Ministère des Communautés Culturelles et de l'Immigration, p.35).

Québec supports the literacy activities of its school boards. For the English/literacy sector some funds are allotted

the volunteer Literacy Councils of Laubach Canada. In addition, the English school boards offer a few group literacy classes through the Adult Education Departments. The French school Boards support literacy activities offering classes open to French Canadians and immigrants. Le Ministère d'Education du Québec has been particularly active in publishing booklets concerning literacy. A series of six covers such subjects as methodology, evaluation, pedagogy, the use of volunteers, etc. All are available in French only.

L'Education Populaire is the sector in which much of the literacy activities for French-speaking Québecois occurs outside the school boards. This sector has 4 priorities. Literacy instruction is the first priority. The second is the support of community projects for the youth, the unemployed and underprivileged adults. The third priority concerns women who wish to return to work or school. The last, the fourth priority, is aimed at the social integration of handicapped persons. The literacy training aimed at Quebec illiterates is open to immigrants. Literacy activities in "L'Education Populaire"are particularly interesting. They involve what amount to Freirian Literacy Circles where participants - they are not called students - play an integral role. This accords with the "orientations" of the Ministry: that the pedagogic approach should allow adults to determine their needs, and the objectives and medium of their education (p. 73). The Ministère de l'éducation du Québec stated that $2.15 million was earmarked for literacy for 1984-85. The breakdown between the English and French sectors was not supplied.

2.2 BRITISH COLUMBIA

The stated policies of British Columbia come the closest of all provinces to recognizing that all citizens have a right of access to basic education, and to acquire the skills that help them to participate fully in society.

The Ministry of Education's Post Secondary Department issued a policy circular on Adult Basic Education (including English language training) effective March 1982. In this statement (p.1) the Ministry recognizes it has a responsibility:

> -to foster learning opportunities for adults in British Columbia who have not had the opportunity to develop some or all of those skills required to function successfully in Canadian society...
> - to provide to adult citizens and landed immigrants residing in the province, reasonable access to high quality adult basic education programs. (our emphasis)

The definition of adult basic education includes Basic Literacy (up to and including grade 8); Academic Upgrading; Pre-Vocational and English Language Training. The last is designed to

provide sufficient skills in the English language, cultural comprehension and citizenship to allow immigrants to participate effectively as citizens, workers, parents and learners.

The existence of "social and economic barriers" to access to education are also recognized in the policy circular. In particular financial assistance and day care provision are mentioned. Other provisions include acknowledgements for responsibility for "equitable financial support for programs throughout the province recognizing "geographic, demographic and socio-economic factors" (p. 2).

2.3 ALBERTA

Without going so far as to declare basic education a right, Alberta's policies do recognize the "necessity ... of life-long education" and a "right" to opportunities to earn as much as possible (Further Education p 1 & an Appendix [1] prepared by Mary Norton of Alberta Advanced Education and Manpower p.1)

Alberta Advanced Education and Manpower policy states that each Albertan has "the right to the opportunity to achieve the highest possible income and standard of living through productive employment" (Mary Norton p.1). At the same time the Further Education Guidelines mention that "access to life-long education is necessary to enable Albertans to better understand and cope with changing social and economic conditions..." (p.1).

Adult Basic Literacy and F/ESL courses are included under the heading `Non-Credit Further Courses' and to obtain a grant it must be :

a) taught by qualified person, e.g. with a teaching certificate.
b) constitute a planned teaching-learning situation.
c) be conducted according to a written course outline.
d) have at least 8 adults enrolled.
e) last less than 100 hours.

It appears that Alberta is making an attempt to provide quality language/literacy services by insisting on paid professionals as teachers and setting minimum enrollment at a fairly low level. This willingness to finance literacy teaching appears to suggest a degree of commitment to and recognition of an adult's right to quality education.

2.4 ONTARIO

Ontario, of the four provinces, despite the number of its immigrants is currently the most vague where language and literacy policy is concerned. At the Ontario Literacy Conference, in May 1984, the representative from the Ministry of Education reported progress in their studies of the situation prior to formulating a policy. The policy is expected to be

published within the next two years.

The publication Continuing Education in the Schools, Colleges and Universities of Ontario (March 1983) was sent to us in response to our request for a policy statement. Three particular objectives are worth quoting because of their relevance to immigrants needing language and literacy training:

> to encourage the delivery of Adult Basic Education and vocational courses in appropriate institutions to adults and to immigrants who require language training.
>
> to encourage access to programs for adults with special learning needs and for adults who have limited learning opportunities because they live in remote or rural areas.
>
> to ensure the delivery of adult basic literacy programs through school boards in consultation and cooperation with colleges of applied arts and technology and with interested community groups (1983, p. 4).

These objectives would appear to facilitate a flexible delivery system for literacy training for adults with diverse needs and requirements. In addition, with respect to community-based programs a "leadership objective" encourages their involvement in planning, funding and the delivery of programs (p6). [It is interesting to note that community groups themselves feel that there is a lack of consultation and cooperation on the part of the Ministry of Education (Wiggin in People, Words & Change Newsletter, April 1984 p. 12)].

As far as recognizing barriers to educational access, the "Development Objectives" of the Ontario statement Continuing Education... include reference to encouraging the development of "programs and technologies" which help provide education to adult learners who cannot benefit from the "traditional mode...because of remoteness, handicaps or work schedules" (p.7). There is no reference, however, to the barriers that prevent poor immigrant parents, particularly women, from participating in educational activities e.g. lack of daycare, financial constraints, rigid scheduling, lack of information, lack of support systems, cultural constraints, etc.

2.5 OTHER PROVINCES

All other responding Ministries referred primariliy to the ESL programs sponsored by CEIC and the Secretary of State's Department but administered by the provinces. In addition, the work of the school boards, community colleges, libraries etc., were mentioned with respect to literacy.

In PEI, and Nova Scotia the Ministries specifically mentioned the literacy activities of the volunteer organisation Laubach Canada. Manitoba appeared to be actively involved in the process of reviewing its policies with respect to Adult ESL because of a recognition on the part of literacy workers and the Ministry of Education that the service had been inadequate to meet the needs of their immigrant population. In its letter in response to our request for information, the Ministry of Education of Manitoba specifically refers to the differing objectives and "uncoordinated, sporadic growth" of an educational system funded by two separate Federal departments and the Provincial government itself. Although the policy was not available at the time of writing the informant expected that an approach would be adopted that was "coherent, humane yet cost-effective...in the short, medium and long terms."

CHAPTER 5: LITERACY - AROUND THE WORLD

1. LESSONS TO BE LEARNED FROM OTHER COUNTRIES

The lessons learned from literacy campaigns waged in countries around the world may well have some relevance for Canada as she attempts to tackle the problems of her own people. In the first place the campaigns of Great Britain and the United States will be considered. Space does not allow a comprehensive description of the campaigns themselves so discussion will be limited to the lessons or conclusions that may be drawn from the findings of experts working in those countries. Aspects of the Cuban literacy campaign will be discussed where they seem to have relevance for Canada. Lastly, some conclusions of the Conseil International pour l'Education des Adultes concerning their findings on factors common to sucessful literacy campaigns around the world will be reported.

1.1 THE U.K. CAMPAIGN

A study of the British literacy campaign of the 1970's reported that 100,000 individuals had been given "the opportunity to learn", while half of these stayed with a tutor long enough to "improve their skills and their confidence" (Jones & Charnley, p. 112). These 50,000 individuals who persisted with their literacy training constituted 2.5% of the estimated 2 million British illiterates. Despite this statistic this program has been called "the most effective and successful literacy effort in any post industrial nation" (Pearpoint,Literacy,1982).

The literacy campaign has been described in detail both by the researchers of the National Institute of Adult Education and by David Hargreaves with respect to the contribution of the BBC. It is useful here to draw some lessons from the British experience.

A. THE NEED FOR A LONG-TERM NATIONAL POLICY

The central administrative unit of the campaign never received a long-term mandate. Its name was changed several times and, because of each unit's short-term mandate and funding it was unable to "promote real long term development" (Annual Report for 1981/2 of National Foundation of Literacy Schemes, in Horsman n.d., p.5). Observers of the British program feel that for the campaign to be truly effective it should be part of an on-going policy (p.5).

B. THE NEED FOR A CENTRAL AGENCY TO ASSIST IN MATERIALS DEVELOPMENT AND INFORMATION DISSEMMINATION

Despite the lack of a long-term mandate the ALBSU (Adult Literacy and Basic Skills Unit) under its various guises, did provide information, training and resources. The materials published by this central unit were in general of very high quality. They encouraged a fairly eclectic approach to learning insisting that the needs of the learner be central and paramount. Rather than presenting lock-step programs that illiterates were to be marched through, the materials made suggestions as to how to use and adapt authentic materials: the newspapers, local guides and directories,etc. In this respect the British materials were unusual. They allowed for a diversity of responses and consequently some excellent, thought provoking material was developed e.g. the materials produced by the Friends Centre in Brighton From Wages to Windscale. Overall an attempt was made to provide kits and instructional material that helped show tutors with little training how to individualize a reading program, taking their student's needs and interests as a starting point.

If volunteer tutors are to be used, they require a certain amount of guidance and training. The provision of good guidelines and materials as well as the techniques for adapting materials to suit the needs and interests of illiterates is likely to improve the quality of tuition offered. The combination of a good long-term national policy and a central unit mandated to provide excellent basic guidelines, materials and training suitable to the Canadian context may facilitate the provision of more equitable, quality services across the country.

C. THE EFFECTIVE USE OF A NATIONAL REFERRAL SCHEME

The national telephone referral scheme was a central feature of the British campaign. Following the T.V. broadcasts of the show "On the Move" (T.V. literacy lessons) a telephone number was announced. Viewers were encouraged to call this national number if they wished to receive tuition or volunteer to be a tutor. Thousands were referred through this national telephone line. However, communications between the national and the local levels were not always good. Often students were lost in the process, or referrals were made to local authorities that had no programs. The last point emphasises the need for a national policy. In the United Kingdom, the level of delivery was inequitable across the country. Some local councils, supported literacy activities while others allocated little money and have "pared (it) down in recent years" (Horsman, n.d., p.5).

Reliable information and networking seem to be key factors. In Canada, we do not know exactly what literacy activities are available across the country. Many programs have short term funding and fade out without anyone being aware of it outside the

immediate community. The computerization of the directory of literacy activities in Ontario is a first step towards setting up a provincial referral system. However, a telephone referral system alone is not sufficient. It is essential to foster personal contacts. The social service or community agencies may be the most effective kinds of referral and thus these agencies must be linked in to an effective information system and made aware of the extent, location and type of facilities available.

D. THE NECESSITY OF SUPPORT SYSTEMS FOR VOLUNTEERS

As in the case of Canada, tuition was mainly provided by volunteers. In some places these were professional teachers who volunteered in their spare time; often they were laypersons with a few hours training.

A crucial element in successful literacy teaching was said to be the "personal commitment" of the tutor. However, volunteer tutors cannot work alone, in a vacuum. Adequate resource people and back-up support and services must be available (Pearpoint 1982, p.35).

The British experience underlined the necessity of providing adequate support for volunteers. Resource people must be able to provide help, training, advice, information, reassurance, etc. if tutors are to work effectively. Tutors who do not receive this kind of back-up tend to drop out. Thus while using tutors seems an inexpensive way to provide literacy teaching, the requisite back-up is by no means cheap.

E. THE DANGERS OF STRESSING SECRECY AND CONFIDENTIALITY

The emphasis on secrecy and confidentiality in this campaign tended to stress the element of shame: the sense that the individual was at fault. The predominance of one-to-one teaching reinforced this aspect. While the identities of illiterates were protected, participants rarely met each other and so missed the opportunity to provide one another with mutual support.

Where group learning situations were provided, benefits were seen. Jane Mace in her book Working with Words (1979) documented participants' feelings about their experiences in these programs. One oft repeated comment was that illiterates realised they were not alone: that other people had had similar experiences to them. They felt that they could help each other in the group learning situations and by admitting their illiteracy to a group of their peers they could begin to overcome their feelings of guilt and shame.

Using actors to play the role of illiterates in the series "On the Move" tended to romanticize literacy learning, giving both illiterates and tutors an unrealistic and diminished

impression of the effort needed. This contrasts with the use of illiterates themselves in the videos produced by T.V Ontario (e.g. "Once More with Meaning"). The use of actors tends to underline the aspect of shame; whereas the fact that illiterates are willing to appear and be filmed while involved in literacy tuition is likely to encourage other illiterates to seek literacy training and remove some of the stigma.

F. THE IMPORTANCE OF PUBLISHING STUDENT WRITING

Jenny Horsman (n.d.) reports that the publishing of student writing has become an important part of many programs in Britain. She sees this as a move towards the "creation of a working class literature and history" linked to the development of writing groups, oral history groups and community bookshops (p.6). While documenting the history of a previously silent class of society, student writings provide interesting materials for use in literacy activities and help to improve the self-image of the writer. Community groups that include writers' workshops and encourage and facilitate the publication of such writings are thought to be providing an invaluable service to their communities.

1.2 LITERACY IN U.S.A.

> The formal education programs which have attempted to solve the problem of adult literacy in the United States have met with very modest success...They have often failed to meet the needs of those adults who most need literacy education. (Rigg & Kazemek, 1983 p.62)

On a purely statistical basis, the American programs have had about as much "success" as the British. Hunter and Harman (1979) estimated the functionally illiterate population at 60 million; the "demand population" - those enrolled in a literacy or basic education program -at 2-4 million. Thus, in the United States, between 3-6% of the estimated illiterate population is receiving training (p.58). In 1976, 38% of those enrolled in such programs dropped out before completion, citing psychological, sociological and educational reasons. According to Rigg and Kazemek (1983), "the effects of poverty - such as lack of information, health programs, lack of transportation or of day-care- doom a program to failure" (p.63). They feel that the the goals, plans and views of adults participating in literacy programs must be seriously considered by those involved in teaching.

A. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ADULT/ADULT LEARNING ENVIRONMENTS

Rigg and Kazemek (1983) advocate the establishment of learning environments "which reflect an interaction among adult learners (teacher and student), materials and instructional

methods" (p.66). Moreover, they reject those synthetic methods (e.g. phonics-based) which are repetitive, can be boring and tend to divorce learning from meaning. Instead they recommend structuring reading activities around a psycholinguistic model of reading - which takes account of what the reader brings to a text during the reading process i.e. acknowledging that while an illiterate may be a beginning reader s/he is not a beginning learner but brings a wide range of experiences to the learning process.

It is worth decribing one program that was specifically designed to meet the needs of non English-speaking immigrants in particular. This program and the resulting curriculum materials are described in articles by Pia Moriarty and Nina Wallerstein and in the latter's book Language and Culture in Conflict (1982).

As the title of the book implies, Nina Wallerstein describes the problems of setting up ESL/Literacy programs among immigrants who, having lived in the United States for several years, are living in conflict: not knowing whether to accept or reject their own or the host's culture. The immigrants felt isolated from the host culture because of both the language barrier and the cultural difference between themselves and people of the mainstream.

The workers in this community-based project in a Spanish-speaking neighbourhood in San Jose, California attempted to involve the members of the community in setting up an educational program that served their needs. The first step involved mingling in the community, talking to members (in Spanish), listening to their thoughts and opinions in order to establish the needs of prospective participants. The result was that various programs were set up: a church discussion group, a women's group, community work shops and a drop-in ESL class.

The ESL class was started in a spare room in a housing project. Initially, the group analysed their needs for and feelings about learning English, and tried to establish in what situations it was required. Some of the themes for the year evolved from these discussions. The curriculum of the course, for both literacy and oracy development, was based on the expressed needs of the participants. Other community issues emerged and events occurred during the course of the year's duration of the project. For example, the tenants of the housing project called a strike in response to a substantial rent increase and lack of maintenance. These issues were discussed in class, and the co-chairman of the tenants' association addressed the group. To increase the amount of contact with the Anglo community, speakers were invited in to speak about available community resources and services and field trips were organised.

Problem-posing was the basic approach. From addressing issues in the participants' lives they were encouraged to develop a critical view of their lives and ways of acting to improve their self-esteem and quality of life (Wallerstein, 1982 p.1).

The crucial element was the creation of a link between the classroom and the community. The unfortunate aspect of projects like this is funding. The issues and problems of the participants last longer than duration of the project. The analogy with the medical health system always springs to mind. Would we withdraw essential health care because a project grant had expired ?

1.3 LITERACY IN CUBA

Cuba is an example of an overwhelmingly successful literacy campaign (Kozol, 1978). In the main, volunteer teachers, known as alphabetizadores, were used to impart literacy to the masses. This was indeed one element that contributed to the success of the campaign but the accompanying conditions prevailing in Cuba in the early 1960's were instrumental in and crucial to the campaign. We will review the major characteristics identified by United Nations observers in order to demonstrate the context in which this campaign occurred.

The UNESCO Mission observed that the Cuban campaign had several elements in its favour which accompanied the first year of the campaign in 1961 (Lorenzetto & Neijs, 1968 p.46):

- linguistic unity : Cuba is a unilingual Spanish speaking country. Both illiterates and alphabetizadores shared Spanish as a mother-tongue.

- density of population: Cuba is a relatively small island, and its population is spread over a limited area - although the inhabitants of the mountainous regions are rather isolated.

- climate: Weather is Cuba does not pose a problem. Classes may be held outside in parks, yards or fields with minimal need for rooms or buildings.

- unsparing use of resources: A great deal of money was spent on the organisation and administration of the campaign. Moreover, thousands of volunteers were released from their studies or their jobs in schools, universities and factories to allow them to participate.

- strong politcial will: The success of the Literacy Campaign was seen as an integral part of the development of Cuba subsequent to the Revolution. The people were unified by the success of the Revolution and willing to make certain sacrifices for the good of the country is a whole.

- limited goal for first year: The aim of the 1961 was not functional literacy - it was a first grade level of reading.

- horizontal organisation through `alphabetizadores': Each alphabetizador was allotted two illiterate peasants to teach.

- use of radio & t.v. for publicity & persuasion: publicity was a key element in this campaign. These media were not used for instruction but to carry the message that every Cuban should become literate for the good of Cuba.

By January 1, 1961, 979,207 illiterates had been identified. By December 22, 1961 707,212 had been taught; and 271,995 illiterates remained (Lorenzetto & Neijs, p.49).

It is useful to explore, in particular, the conditions which facilitated the use of volunteers. First was the sheer size of the "literacy force": 233,608 alphabetizadores guided by 34,722 professional teachers. The volunteers were made up of students-anyone with a primary school certificate-,and workers. They were trained in several camps and then sent out to the farthest reaches of the island. Decentralization was another key point. Mass organizations existed in each province: the nucleus being the literacy unit consisting of 50 illiterates under the guidance of 25 alphabetizadores, one professional teacher and a political adviser all under the direction of a chief of unit (Lorenzetto & Neijs, p 49).

Several elements favoured the success of the volunteer movement. Firstly, the volunteers worked intensively but within a limited time frame. Second, teaching literacy was the main occupation of the volunteer for the period of the campaign. Each volunteer was armed with a primer, allocated two illiterates and sent to live with them. Thus, although many of the tutors could be classified as "middle class" students from Havana, they shared the life of the peasant for the period of teaching. Thirdly,the message that the volunteers brought with them concerned land reform, improved food distribution, better health care and education. The primers contained an "ideological bias" and, in combination with the "militant" training given the volunteers the message was very powerful. Fourth, the level of literacy aimed at was fairly low and reasonably achievable within the time allocated. The written form of the Spanish language is relatively easy to master once the alphabet has been learned since there is a one-to-one correspondence between each letter and a sound. After tuition each new-literate was able to write a simple letter to Castro to inform him that illiteracy had been abolished in one more case. The fact that the tutor lived with the illiterate and could tutor him/her whenever convenient. The fact that written Spanish is fairly easy to master and teach and the fact that a very limited goal was sought, all worked in favour of the use of volunteers. But perhaps most important was the link between the revolutionary message brought by the volunteers and the fundamental changes that appeared to be taking place at the same time.

The political climate was a major aspect in the campaign. Literacy was seen as a desirable goal for the good of the country: while helping on an individual level, the volunteer was also very aware of working for the collective benefit of Cuba.

Thirdly coordination and good communication between the central organization and the local organizations was important. While a central, national policy was necessary, it was found that flexibility to allow for local needs to be met was necessary.

Fourth, successful programs incorported the mobilization of the people behind the issue. Widespread support for the program and acknowledgement of its role in the further development of the society or community is of paramount importance.

Fifth, the right to literacy must be recognized. Literacy was declared a human right nearly ten years ago in the Declaration of Persepolis but has not achieved the status of a right in most advanced western countries. It seems that in these liberal-inspired democracies illiteracy is seen as an individual choice or deficit, rather than a right denied. If literacy is accorded the status of a right and action is taken to facilitate access to this right, then success appears to be achievable.

While these factors were noted mainly in campaigns waged in the Third World, many may be translated to the Canadian socio-economic context.

2.THREE APPROACHES TO TEACHING LITERACY : A WORLD PERSPECTIVE

While all approaches to literacy share the same long-term goal, namely to teach illiterates to read and write, they differ in terms of how, why, and what kind of literacy is taught. The three approaches described, namely Laubach's, Friere's, and the Language Experience Approach seem to us to characterize the principal types of literacy teaching currently employed. Each program will be examined with respect to goals, content and relevance of materials, methods employed, student participation, teacher's role and ease of application to ESL/Literacy learners in Canada.

In North America the "back-to-basics" movement has been a response to poor literacy achievement by school leavers and widespread reading problems. Underlying this movement is the assumption that the methods which succeeded, or are assumed to have succeeded in the past, can be applied to solve current problems. However, "looking backward for solutions" can only work if educational goals remain static argue Daniel and Lauren Resnick (1977, p.370). They demonstrate that a "sharp shift" in literacy expectations has recently taken place and now a level of proficiency is demanded that old methods did not aspire to. Now, comprehension and reading for new information rather than mere decoding are the goals sought. Thus, emphasis should be placed on pedagogies that focus on strategies to obtain meaning from print.

2.1 THE LAUBACH PROGRAM

The Laubach program gained its reputation in the Third World. This method has been imported almost unchanged to Canada despite the gulf between the literacy goals of underdeveloped and developed nations. The former are trying to abolish complete illiteracy whereas in Canada the goal is functional literacy for all. Laubach's program could be characterized as an "old method" seeking to solve new problems - part of the "back-to-basics" movement. As a potential solution, it suffers from the major weakness that the social conditions and literacy aspirations of Canada are quite different from those in the Third World. The approach is incompatible with the circumstances in Canada.

2.2 LAUBACH IN THE THIRD WORLD

Frank and Robert Laubach's "Each-one-Teach-one-Way" for adult literacy has been widely used in hundreds of countries in the Third World, often by missionaries using funds raised by church-sponsored organisations, with the primary long-range goal of having adults read "religious materials and acquaint themselves with spiritual aspects of life" (Hesser, 1978 p.72). Laubach transcribed 274 spoken languages (most of which had not previously been written down) into a simple, phonetically regular, written form (where each letter of the alphabet has only one way of being pronounced). Hesser notes that this phonetic language would "be accepted by the government concerned" (1978 p.73) and various materials, bible stories, etc. would be published in this language so that the new readers would have some material on which to practise their new skill.

Laubach's method when it is used in the Third World manifests its real strengths. Firstly, the content of materials used in underdeveloped countries appears particularly relevant to the people being taught literacy. The governments of countries where the Laubachs worked usually stipulated the topics to be taught: for example health care, child rearing, nutrition, housing and agriculture form the subject matter of literacy manuals illustrated in Laubach's book, Towards World Literacy (1960). Secondly, literacy may be quickly achieved in Third World contexts. Not only is the level of literacy sought fairly low, but progress is fast using a phonetically regular written language. The third strength concerns the learning context. Learning takes place between equals and is continually reinforced. Once learners have achieved a certain basic level of literacy they go on to teach other illiterates in the community, thereby reinforcing their learning and bolstering their self-respect and confidence. This last point leads to the final strength, that the system has the potential to reach large numbers in a relatively short time. Laubach forecast that the entire illiterate population of a country could be reached in only five years if 8% were taught in the first year (8%-16%-32%-64%-128% -allowing for population growth!).

In summary, in the context of the Third World, the Laubach method employs relevant materials, progress is swiftly achieved and a large population may be reached in a relatively short period of time.

2.3 LAUBACH IN CANADA

In Canada none of these strengths can be attributed to the Laubach method. In the first place the content of Laubach materials is far from relevant to the needs and interests of illiterates. Secondly, written English is by no means phonetically regular and legislation to regularize the written form is unlikely. Thus, relying on a totally phonics-based approach to teaching literacy results in very slow progress particularly when the level of literacy that is needed to cope with common materials is much higher. Third, Canadian illiterates are usually taught by "educated" volunteers not by their peers, and rarely go on to teach someone else. Thus, the fourth strength, the growth potential, is eliminated.

The materials available in Canada are supplied by and purchased from Laubach's publishing subsidiary in the United States. The content is very American and organised around particular sound-symbol relationships (for example, the second book limits itself to "short vowels". This constraint results in stories which are stilted, repetitive, boring and often inane.

Ann gives a bird to Bob.
She gives a cup to Cal.
She gives a dish to Dan.
She gives an egg to Ed.
She gives a fish to Fran.
(Skill Book 1 : Lesson 6)

No topic which could remotely be construed as of intrinsic interest to adults is introduced in the first two books. It must be borne in mind that an adult beginner reader is not a beginner learner in every area. S/he brings a wealth of knowledge, experience and various kinds of non-literacy learning to the situation which must be respected and acknowledged. To treat adult beginner readers as four or five year old children is to ensure that a literacy program has a high drop-out factor.

In Canada, illiterates in the Laubach program are usually tutored on an individual basis by volunteers who have undergone a short training course -usually 9-12 hours. Learners are thus isolated from one another and rarely are able to meet other illiterates to compare their experiences and discuss common problems. The learner is seen as a passive object who receives knowledge from his tutor: the only active role is one which involves repetition (oral repetition of sounds and isolated fragments of language).

In fact repetition is a key teaching technique. Tutors are instructed to use a frequently repeated patter to teach the sounds of the letters. Learners must repeat or imitate these sounds. This can be nearly impossible for beginning adult second language learners, focusing on the area of weakness that adult learners rarely overcome - a foreign-sounding accent. Indeed for all those who speak with a different accent from the Laubach's, this process can be very confusing. In particular, if the learner is a speaker of a non-standard variety of English, s/he is expected to pronounce common words in an unfamiliar way. Thus the accents of the tutor and illiterate come into conflict. This deepens any sense of alienation since it emphasises that the illiterate cannot even speak "properly", let alone read the language.

The popularity of the Laubach method may be due as much to the fact that the comprehensive set of materials provide untrained teachers with the confidence they lack as to any real success experienced by the illiterate learner. Individual tuition can be highly beneficial to the learner if it allows the tutor to be flexible and build a program to the learner's needs. However, in its initial stages, the Laubach program tends to be extremely rigid. After only a few hours training a tutor with no teaching experience or knowledge of reading theory can go out and tutor illiterates. The instructions in the teacher's manual cover the minutest detail (including where a tutor should place his hands, when and how to point, etc. In fact a tutor does not have to think , nor do any lesson planning at all. The patter is so rigid in format that it tends to erect a barrier between the tutor and the learner. Normal conversation is eliminated from the early parts on the program while the sometimes nervous tutor reels off his memorized "speech".

To summarize, in terms of the goals it seeks, the content, the relationship between the tutor and learner and its usefulness for speakers of non-standard varieties of English or for ESL/Literacy learners (Laubach has no French program) the method has serious deficiencies.

For new administrators wanting to set up a literacy program using volunteers, the Laubach program appears to have real strengths and advantages. The organisation supplies a full range of professionally produced teachers' books, students' books, and pedagogical materials including phonics workbooks and supplementary readers. It has a ready-made organisational structure and program to train tutors and tutor-trainers in its techniques. Thus, in times when funding is extremely tight, the start-up costs are minimised. The time-consuming work of designing a tailor-made solution for Canadian problems and making a proposal to set up a superior program to meet the needs of Canadian illiterates appears to be avoided by importing the Laubach method wholesale.

The administrators of many Laubach programs are well aware of the method's serious deficiencies and do their utmost to

supplement and enrich the program. In the last couple of years the Laubach organisation has added various elements like Language Experience, an interesting set of readers for the higher levels and other aspects that are more learner-centred. This kind of adaptation in combination with talented and caring tutors, can produce a degree of success despite the inadequacies of the basic method. However, the expense and time involved in supplementing Laubach's method for use in Canada offset its initial (and very superficial) attraction, namely that it is complete in itself.

CHART 1: EVALUATION OF LAUBACH METHOD

FACTORS	IN PRACTICE	VALUE
teachers	usually inexperienced volunteers	-
training	12 hours training in use of method	+
basic method	too narrow; especially inappropriate for ESL/Literacy	-
materials	provides multi-level materials; supplementary readers; professionally produced	+
Content	inappropriate	-
Learners	Little congruence between learners' needs/interests and materials.	-
Group	usually on 1 : 1 basis no support by peers	-
Goal	progress towards functional literacy very slow via phonics method.	-

If Laubach's method is chosen by a Canadian program it means that priority has been given not to the learners' needs but to teachers' deficiencies or that the person responsible for the choice is unaware of the inadequacy of the Laubach method.

Hence, a vicious circle, a closed loop, revolving around the constraints facing the program -inexperienced volunteers teachers, inadequate funding and inadequate conceptualization of the total situation by the decision-maker responsible, as opposed to taking the learners' needs into consideration. Literacy programs, because they are underfunded and staffed by volunteers lacking training, may in fact be forced to choose materials destined to lead the majority of learners to failure.

The fact that materials provide inexperienced teachers with the confidence to "teach literacy" is surely an insufficiently valid reason for adopting a given program. A program must also be shown to provide the learner with the skills s/he lacks. However, such evidence, at least in the Canadian context, is not available since there are to our knowledge no adequate evaluations or appraisals of literacy programs as points of reference to guide these programs towards greater success.

2.4 LANGUAGE EXPERIENCE APPROACH

As its name implies this approach takes the language and experience of the participants as its starting point. Thus learners build on "their existing competencies as they learn to read (and) literacy becomes a natural continuation of their already acquired competence in language" (Goodman, 1983 p.31). It is based on two assumptions about language and reading. The first is that "language is a meaningful whole; if it gets yanked apart into little pieces, it is not a language anymore". The second assumption is that "reading is a language process and, as part of language, it too must always be a meaningful whole" (Rigg, 1983 p.60, describing the ideas of Yetta Goodman).

As this approach does not necessarily employ primers or published texts a short description of how it works is in order.

As in Freire's "Cultural Circles" the Language Experience Approach starts with discussion of participants' common interests or problems. After a variety of opinions have been aired the class often attempts to "write" a group account of their discussion. The teacher acts as recorder, transcribing what is said on the blackboard or a flip-chart. Then, the teacher and the class as a whole read back what has been written. It is this text, the content of which is already familiar to the learners, that forms the basis for teaching the comprehension strategies, word-attack skills and decoding skills that are needed to attack unfamiliar material.

The text expresses the participants' concerns and interests and so the reading content is inherently relevant to those in the

group. It uses the participants' own words, and thus the vocabulary employed is familiar and natural. With second language learners as with native speakers, the exact words are transcribed by the teacher, who may invite participants to change their contribution if they wish; e.g., if they spot errors, or if they feel they can improve upon what they said.

This approach has several advantages. It is very flexible and requires little published material. It can be adapted and made relevant for use in numerous settings and purposes -from groups of mothers with pre-school children to workers in a factory who need to work out the terms of their latest contract. The reading texts are relevant and interesting to the participants using their own ideas, vocabulary, grammar and expressions.

CHART 2: EVALUATION OF THE LANGUAGE EXPERIENCE APPROACH

FACTORS	IN PRACTICE	VALUE
teachers	usally professional ESL responsive and flexible	+
training	broad ESL training	+
basic method	appropriate: geared to learner's level/language	+
materials		
a) learner generated	relevant to interests of learners	+
b) supplementary material/exercises	must be developed for learner needs	-
content	based on needs of learners	+
learners	given opportunity to express opinions/needs to guide course content	+
group	usually in group situations feedback/support from group	+
goal	reading for meaning	+

This approach is particularly applicable to groups of second language learners, but the teacher must exercise care and skill.

In an ESL/Literacy class it is particularly important that the focus is on the meaning that the learners want to communicate rather than on what may be minor pronunciation problems. In this respect, Pat Rigg insists that the teacher should transcribe exactly what a participant says -including grammatical errors. By correcting the errors- writing something different from what the student actually says - the teacher is "focusing their attention on trivia, on surface forms" (1982 p.63) and proving that reading is just another grammar lesson rather than extracting meaning from print. The texts themselves are a record of progress, an indication of where problems exist and where new work should concentrate. Over time a learner is able to review the texts, recognize errors and correct them and is encouraged to do so. Hence, accuracy becomes an intrinsic part, but not the focus, of the training.

The most successful use of this approach is likely to be with teachers trained in the techniques involved and with an understanding of the relationship between the activities engaged in and the progessive mastery of the written word displayed by the learner.

Obviously learner-generated texts are not the only reading material that illiterates need or desire to read; but their familiarity and significance helps give participants the confidence and skills to attack other texts. Students learn how to develop an initial overall understanding of a document and in addition strategies to arrive at a detailed precise understanding of its component parts.

Language Experience is a starting point for teaching reading. It gives students a real sense that the purpose of writing is to communicate ideas - sometimes their ideas. It gives them a voice to break what has been called "a culture of silence".

Selecting the Language Experience Approach as a vehicle for teaching reading and writing means that learners' needs and opinions are seen as of paramount importance in the learning process. It also implies that trained teachers be used: teachers competent in the techniques involved, and in materials development in order to be able to provide the opportunities to practise skills and strategies that are needed in independent reading.

2.5 PAULO FREIRE: EDUCATION FOR SOCIAL ACTION

Paulo Friere's approach to teaching literacy recognized that illiteracy plays an important role in an illiterate's life, and that literacy education can provide a vehicle for examining one's role in society. It did not stop there. While revealing reality it aimed at change: action to effect change.

The literacy work of Paulo Freire began in the slums of Recife, Brazil. He developed "culture circles" among illiterates and conducted debates with them on the serious and crucial subjects of the day -nationalism, democracy, development, and illiteracy. Some of members of the groups would not participate in the discussions and manifested a certain "fatalism and apathy in regard to their problems" (Freire, 1974 p.42). They believed that their position in life was God's will and shared a sense that they had no role in effecting change. (This is a characteristic that Hunter and Harman noticed in their study of American illiterates too. Those least likely to be reached by literacy programs and most cut-off from mainstream were those who had lost all hope that their futures could be brighter). Freire's approach demonstrated to the illiterates that they did indeed have knowledge and that they used this knowledge to transform their world in certain ways. He attempted to use this insight to awaken their critical consciousnesses and banish fatalism and abject resignation.

Friere recognized that illiteracy was a problem, but not the only problem of the slum-dwellers in his "culture circles". He decided to attack their literacy problem while raising their critical consciousness. He rejected "a mechanistic literacy program" right from the start (1974 p.43). He wanted to create a program in which the participants were the "subjects" not the "objects" of their learning. He rejected what he termed "banking education" where teachers relay a body of information to passive objects - their students; and knowledge is regarded as something which others possess. Freire's approach built on the knowledge that the participants already possessed. Unlike most reading programs the participants did not have to

> endure the abysm between their own experience and the contents offered for them to learn. It requires patience indeed, after the hardships of a day's work (or a day without work), to tolerate lessons dealing with `wing'. `Johnny saw the wing.' `The wing is on the bird'. (Freire, 1974 p.43)

Three stages are involved in Friere's "CONSCIENTIZATION" process: listening, dialogue and action.

Listening was the starting point of the development of Freire's program. Community/literacy workers observed and talked with illiterates in their neighbourhoods attempting to find out the themes and topics which would form the basis and content of the literacy courses. The teacher is a "participant-observer" and uses a variety of tools to "focus on themes that are most timely or problematic for students" (Moriarty & Wallerstein, 1979).

Dialogue is the next stage. For this Freire asked an artist to illustrate ten "situations" for discussion. The first depicts a man working in the fields, a house and a well. Discussion of this picture is used to demonstrate the differentiation between

nature and culture and how man transforms nature through work for his own ends (Freire, 1974 p.63). Participants are asked who built the well, why and how was it built? and they begin to appreciate that they have a role in culture. The discussions proceed from situation to situation until they arrive at the last picture which depicts a "Culture Circle in Action- (the) synthesis of the previous discussions" (Freire, 1974 p.81).

At this point the participants recognize themselves and discover that though they are illiterate they do have the ability to think complex thoughts and that "by becoming literate they can become subjects of their existence, rather than objects" (Dobbs 1982, p.19).

The success of these cultural circles led Freire to believe that reading could be taught in a similar manner. Consequently, "generative words" became basis of reading instruction. Some of the words chosen for the State of Rio de Janeiro were "slum", "rain", "plow", "land", "food", "well", "work", "salary", "wealth". These are powerful words, about which peasants had plenty to say (unlike Laubach's pallid word list for Skill Book 1 with words such as "pup", "pan", "dish", "bird", "olive", "snake"). At this point the words were broken down into syllables and families of syllables were generated (e.g.fa,fe,fi,fo,fu). For a language such as Portuguese, being largely phonetic, this may be a useful and quick way to teach reading (30 hours often quoted). However, this linguistic aspect is not transferable to English since English does not have a one to one correspondence between letters and sounds.

The final and most radical part of Freire's approach, ACTION, may be applied in the Canadian context. An example may clarify this aspect which is usually regarded as relevant in Third World contexts but not in the developed world. If, to give a simple example, a learner stops coming to her literacy class because she cannot afford to pay a babysitter to look after her child, the participants in a program run along Freirian lines would probably use this problem as a topic for discussion, and attempt to solve the problem so that the woman could rejoin the group.

This approach may be highly relevant in community-based language and literacy programs where the needs and interests of the participants form the core curriculum and learning is linked to the broader issues in participants' lives. It would be particularly applicable to teaching immigrants in Canada, or any adults, since the background and knowledge that participants bring to the the class is valued and used as starting points for discussion and further learning. The program ideally builds on the participants' experiences as adults and their personal and cultural strengths to approach and resolve everyday problems. Literacy and language are learned through materials and discussion relevant to their lives.

The choice of the Freire approach recognizes the needs and

interests of participants as central, but it implies the employment of teachers who understand and can exploit the approach fully. In fact teachers would have to be instructors, and, at the same time community workers.

As teachers they would have to be creative, sensitive and flexible in order to cooperatively forge a learning program with the participants based on the latters' needs and interests. Since the linguistic element of Freire's approach has little relevance in English literacy learning, the teacher would need the knowledge of reading to seek out alternative suitable methods and techniques.

In the role of community worker a high degree of commitment would be necessary since a crucial element of the approach is linking learning inthe classroom with problems outside the classroom, and helping the participants to act to solve their problems.

CHART 3: EVALUATION OF PAULO FRIERE'S EDUCATION FOR SOCIAL ACTION

FACTORS	IN PRACTICE	VALUE
teachers/ community workers	workers committed to linking literacy and community	+
basic approach	appropriate to adults and immigrants	+
linguistic element syllabic analysis	inappropriate	-
materials	all must be teacher-generated	-
content	needs-based/relevant	+
learners	active participants in learning	+
group	peer support	+
goal	literacy for community participation :relevant to participants	+

2.5 CONCLUSION

No single "method" will solve every adult's problems with learning to read and write. Many approaches exist, but none has been designed specifically for Canadian immigrants. Approaches may be selected because they provide step-by-step teacher guides which untrained teachers can follow, or because published materials are available and teachers are not sufficiently experienced to prepare their own more suitable materials. Hence, the choice of programs may have more to do with the financial and personnel constraints within which most literacy programs function than with meeting the needs of the learners.

CHAPTER 6: PROBLEMS AND NEEDS OF ADULT IMMIGRANTS

Knowledge of the problems experienced by immigrants, their socioeconomic situation and the barriers which prevent or inhibit them from taking advantage of learning opportunities are some of the factors which have to be taken into account when setting up language and literacy courses for them.

The major problems of adult immigrants have been identified and documented in various studies of immigrants using the expertise of ethnic immigrant service groups, employment agencies, unions and community organisations. One study of particular relevance was the Canadian Association for Adult Education's research into learners and non-learners. The characteristics of non-learners - low educational attainment and income, mother tongue neither English nor French - correspond closely to those of immigrants most likely to be illiterate (ICEA, 1982 p.15). Not only did this study identify the problems and needs of non-learners, it emphasised that conventional delivery systems do not reach non-learners. New delivery systems, rather than extensions of the old, are needed if non-learners' needs are to be served. A long ignored way of finding out about illiterates' problems and needs is to ask them. In a workshop at the Literacy Conference in London, Ontario in May 1984, illiterates studied their own needs and arrived at the list below, which appeared in the newspaper Starting Out in July, 1984.

Students at conference define literacy needs

Students who attended the Ontario Literacy Conference during May at Huron College in London, Ont., discussed what action should be taken in literacy.

This is perhaps the first occasion when literacy students from various programs in Ontario could get together and define what they see as priorities in the basic education field.

Here's what they said was needed:

- ☐ More funds for programs;
- ☐ Testing for learning disabilities;
- ☐ Better facilities, both location and materials;
- ☐ Better teachers who are better qualified to teach adults reading, etc.
- ☐ Evaluation of existing programs by government and redirection of taxes into literacy programs;
- ☐ Job creation for illiterates;
- ☐ Objectivity by teachers in regard to new methods of learning and examining and developing other ways of learning;
- ☐ Educational funds instead of welfare funds;
- ☐ Better advertising and communication of programs available;
- ☐ Providing facilities such as baby sitting;
- ☐ Unions should address education in the workplace.

Starting Out Vol.3 July, 1984.

A number of problems are common to immigrants whether or not they are in the paid workforce. These problems are :

financial constraints
lack of information
lack of childcare facilities
geographical isolation
racism
low level of skills

Immigrants in the Workforce

The fact that an immigrant has started work in Canada does not mean that s/he no longer needs language and literacy training. Some people may have started work without any official language skills or training, while others may have quit their initial course as soon as they found a job. Another group may find that their language and literacy skills need improvement if they are to actively participate in Canadian society or achieve the goals they set for themselves. Because they are workers, they may encounter certain difficulties which prevent them from seeking learning opportunities.

exhaustion from strenuous work
scheduling difficulties eg. shift work
underemployment
unemployment

On-the-job safety may partly be dependent on an individual's ability to understand either written or oral instructions. Consequently, safety education should play a central role in literacy of official language courses offered at the workplace.

Immigrants not in the workforce

Many of the studies referred to mention isolation, social isolation, as a factor affecting elderly and, in particular, female immigrants who do not participate in the workforce. This isolation may be caused by various factors and serves to exacerbate the other problems of this group:

dependence on spouse or sponsor
cultural constraints on women
shyness or fear
disability

We intend to point to needs which have to be met, and problems to be overcome if non-learners are to become learners. It is acknowledged that the problems themselves may be very deep-rooted and indicative of socioeconomic problems outside the scope of this study. It is useful to briefly describe each problem and outline the type of program -literacy/language- that might be appropriate in each situation.

1. PROBLEMS AND NEEDS OF IMMIGRANTS IN AND OUT OF THE PAID WORKFORCE

1.1 FINANCIAL CONSTRAINTS

Just as level of income and education are directly linked so are poverty and illiteracy. Consequently, money can be a major factor determining whether an illiterate will participate in a learning course or not. The cost of taking a course, in terms of course fees and materials, loss of earnings, child care and travel expenses, may be sufficient to bar access to education.

Several additional elements affect immgrants in particular. The first priority for many newly arrived immigrants is the establishment of the financial security of the family; in some cases both the family in Canada and family remaining in the native country. For example, Adeline Chancy (1981), in her study of illiterate Haitian women in Montreal, noticed that no family member felt able to take part in educational activities until the breadwinner was secure in his/her job. This often meant that literacy training, although recognized as desirable for coping with the demands of Quebec society, was delayed for several years after arrival. In particular the women put off seeking education for themselves until they felt that their husbands and children were well settled into their lives and activities.

Immigrants who participate in full-time language training on arrival often experience problems supporting their families on the allowances they receive. If the head of household is the only family member eligible for training, this financial constraint may limit the spouse's access to language training.

To allow the poorest and neediest members of society to benefit from learning opportunities courses have to offered free of charge. This is only a first step since the course fee is only one consideration. For example, the costs incurred to free a woman to take a course may be expressed in terms of income lost, babysitting and travel expenses incurred. ESL/Literacy courses in urban centres that provide bus tickets and free daycare while charging no fees for entry or materials may facilitate access to training.

1.2 LACK OF INFORMATION

Reliable information is difficult for any illiterate to come by. For those who do not speak or read an official language these problems are increased. Furthermore, immigrants coming from cultures substantially different from Canada's may have no realistic expectations about what services may be available, and what benefits they may be entitled to.

In the first place, information about available services is difficult to obtain. Little networking occurs between agencies

and thus one agency may be unaware of the activities of others (Report of Joint Task Force on Immigrant Women, 1979 p.28). In the workplace, lack of knowledge about labour codes, minimum wage standards, the legality of unionizing and worker compensation may result in a feeling of vulnerability and a fear of complaining or organizing on the workers' part (Arnopoulos, 1979 p.12). Legal information is also hard to come by. Some immigrants live in fear of deportation because they do not know their rights as landed immigrants. Even establishing one's right to an interpreter may be difficult.

As for finding out about courses, social service agencies are often unaware of the programs offered by other organisations as little coordination takes place. Educational institutions which operate on a "see who comes" basis, wait for students to approach them rather than making attempts to publicize their existence to the community. This policy results in "an emphasis on helping the better educated rather than the less-well educated" (Selman, 1979 p 22).

To bridge the information gap various approaches are needed. In the first place, more comprehensive information should be available in the native language at points of application for entry to Canada. Although this may provide a basic foundation of reliable information, it may be difficult for a prospective immigrant to assess what is relevant until actually in Canada. Thus, on or shortly after arrival, orientation within the host community is desirable : this may take place in either the native tongue, through interpreters, through first language manuals or through official language training programs.

Better information systems are needed in Canada. Setting up a reliable and up-to-date directory of services such as the Adult Basic Literacy : A Directory of Ontario Programs (1984) compiled by Ethel Anderson is a beginning. Ensuring that this information is kept up-to-date and readily available and accessible to those who need the services is essential.

Language and literacy classes that are based on useful and relevant content will likely perform a dual function. While providing useful information to the participants to help them function better within Canadian society, they will enable immigrants to acquire the skills necessary to find out for themselves what they need to know in the future.

1.3 LACK OF DAYCARE

Lack of quality, affordable child care facilities is a problem that affects all parents to a certain extent, especially those without a large or extended family to share the responsibilities.

Every study of immigrant women points to the need for daycare provision wherever women work, live, study or socialize. To our knowledge, these studies demand daycare for women rather than for the family. It is obvious that parents of pre-school children cannot both participate in activities outside the home without adequate provision for their children. For example, if the male head of household is supporting the family on a training allowance and no daycare facility is provided at his course, his spouse will have to be responsible for their children and thus restrict her ability to look for work or seek part-time language training.

For immigrants who do not speak or read English or French a strong case can be made in favour of providing official language immersion daycare for their children. Studies on the effects of the acquisition of pre-literacy skills prior to school entry indicate that children without literacy exposure are at a distinct disadvantage which may color their school experiences and progress (Cummins, 1979).

A dramatic extension of quality daycare facilities (on all fronts- at schools, in offices, factories, hospitals and churches; wherever parents work, study and socialize) has long been a demand of the women's movement. In the short-term, the provision of daycare or playgroup facilities for pre-school children frees parents to participate in educational or employment activities. In the long term it may be the key to satisfactory integration for second generation immigrants.

1.4 GEOGRAPHICAL ISOLATION

The range of services offered in urban centres is more extensive than that offered in rural or isolated regions. In some instances no language or literacy training is locally available and students or teachers must travel long distances to attend courses.

There is a need to increase the community services offered and to create outreach arms of urban programs that have the flexibility to serve rural community needs too. The provision of learning opportunities via the electronic media and the telephone in combination with community networking may go some way to redressing the imbalance between the range of services available in rural and urban areas.

1.5 RACISM

Racism is a highly complex issue which cannot be adequately explored here. Some facets appear to have economic roots. The racism experienced by the Hmong in Philadelphia, U.S.A. seems to have arisen in a time of high unemployment because refugees were competing with "the least skilled for low-paying jobs and public

aid" (New York Times article published in the Gazette, Sept. 20, 1984). Although better intercultural understanding may ease relations between races, this economic tension is likely to be relieved only by economic security.

The Hmong, coming from a non-literate culture where reading and writing were not skills that adults were expected to develop, need intensive orientation and language/literacy training, often incorporating an interpreter, if they are to settle in Canada. They will need longer than even semi-literate immigrants to acquire a survival level of literacy. It is unlikely that the first generation of Hmong will ever achieve functional literacy and will continue to need the services of interpreters in most contacts with mainstream institutions.

In a different context, racism or the fear of racial slurs inhibits immigrants' attempts to seek education. Adeline Chancy in her study of illiterate Haitian women in Montreal observed that racism exhibited by the francophone community instilled fear into the immigrants to the point that they isolated themselves from the host community. Although many women in the study expressed an interest in and a need for courses to help them acquire French literacy skills, the fear of racial confrontations was so strong that they were unwilling to approach mainstream institutions for help.

In situations like this, it seems there is a need for the ethnic community itself to offer support and various types of training to members of their community. This will do nothing to ease racial tension in the larger community, but it may help workers to cope better with their jobs and improve the level of communication between schools, teachers and immigrant parents.

In the workplace, racial tension may be relieved if communication is improved. Observers of labour relations attending the Toronto Conference on "Workers and their Communities" noted the existence of factories where job demarcations were set on linguistic lines. All those doing one job would be from the same linguistic and ethnic background, whereas workers on a different job would share a distinctly different language and ethnicity. While communication between workers in one occupation was facilitated, there was no opportunity to change jobs or communicate between occupations if this involved crossing linguistic borders. The observers felt that prejudices arose because workers could not communicate between sectors. Racial tension became evident. The observers mentioned that, when language courses were introduced and workers from different language backgrounds were mixed together, the provision of an opportunity and the means to discuss shared problems and experiences broke down language and ethnic barriers. Prejudices began to dissolve in the light of real information exchange.

Programs which result in greater understanding between communities may help relieve racial tensions. If language or

literacy courses are based on the common needs of the participants, they may result in improved communication both between ethnic groups and with the host community.

1.6 LOW LEVEL OF SKILLS

For many unskilled immigrants, their lack of useful work skills is seen as a problem and a limitation on their earning capacity. The combination of an inadequate command of an official language and a lack of formal education limit access to training possibilities offered by CEIC, which currently demands a minimum attainment of grade 10.

The grade level limitation seems arbitrary. Workers with a functional level of literacy and oral competence may be able to acquire new job skills without benefit of formal education. Official language and literacy courses are needed which attempt to teach relevant work, language and literacy skills concurrently. Non-workers who feel a need to seek paid employment may benefit from such work-related training too. In addition, this group may need orientation to the job market - both in terms of information on how to search for a job, and work standards and workers' rights.

2. PROBLEMS AND NEEDS OF IMMIGRANT WORKERS

2.1 EXHAUSTION AND SCHEDULING

Workers with excessively heavy or exhausting jobs, or who do shift work, find participation in regularly scheduled courses difficult if not impossible. Poor working conditions are prevalent in the low paying jobs in which unskilled immigrant workers are typically employed (McGowan, 1982 p.9). For example, in occupations such as seasonal farmwork and domestic work minimum wage legislation "frequently does not apply or is not enforced". Consequently, many women work long hours in conditions characterized by poor "ventilation, heating, washroom facilities or safety equipment" (McGowan, p.9). The case of East Indian women and child farm workers in Vancouver was documented by Marguerite Cassin. She states that they work from dawn to dusk at peak harvest times, doing heavy work for low pay (Cassin, 1979 p.14). Cassin explains that women continue to get their jobs informally, through ethnic contacts despite the efforts of CEIC to reorganise the farm labour pool, because their living conditions, their position in the family and level of English make "the procedure of registering with the government... difficult" (Cassin, p.15).

The combination of hard physical work outside the home, and the traditional housekeeping duties inside the home, leaves little energy or free time to seek educational opportunities. Poor conditions of work, long hours, and rotating shiftwork all

prevent immigrants with such jobs from benefiting from language/literacy courses, regularly scheduled in evenings or on weekends.

Obviously, the long term solution to these immigrants' problems is to find better paying, less physically demanding jobs. In the short term , they may be able to acquire portable skills through participation in educational courses. In this respect, they require language and literacy classes that are scheduled to suit their changing needs, or on a more flexible, drop-in basis. The right to day release or paid educational leave might provide the time necessary to help them acquire the skills they need, whether language, literacy or academic upgrading.

2.2 UNDEREMPLOYMENT

Getting a job is the first priority after arrival in Canada of most independent immigrants. Obtaining a job that is commensurate with one's qualifications and experience is a secondary consideration. The study Three Years in Canada revealed that 31% of immigrants had not found a job in their intended occupation after 3 years residence (p.32). The main reasons respondents cited for this were language deficiencies (16%), lack of Canadian experience (20%), and non-acceptance of qualifications by professional or trade associations (20%). (This survey was conducted among immigrants arriving in 1969 and may be considered outdated, but the 1982 study entitled Immigrant Women in Canada reiterated these particular problems.)

While the immigration authorities have developed a sophisticated mechanism for assessing an individual's employability: primarily based on education, work experience and occupational training, it seems that employers do not accept, are not in agreement with, or are not aware of this assessment. If immigration policy continues to be geared to the demands of the market place, it seems that industry and government need to more closely attuned to the demands each makes on immigrant workers.

In terms of language and literacy activities there is a need for work-oriented training geared to the required level of competence. For example, professional immigrant women, such as doctors, teachers, nurses and businesswomen, selected in the first place for their high academic qualifications and work skills, need to reach a level of communication in both oral/aural and literacy skills far in excess of the requirements for mainstream participation. If immigrants are selected with respect to labour market demand, and the objective of initial language training is to provide skills to enable immigrants to work, it may be efficient to aim at the level of performance needed by workers in their intended occupation. This may result in more specific, longer, more functional courses which allow immigrants to fulfill their potential.

At the other end of the educational spectrum, some immigrants arrive with minimal official language and literacy skills and need a training period long enough to allow them to attain a "functional" or even a "survival" level. In the case of non-literate immigrants, a six month training period may be insufficient for them to acquire sufficient skills to maintain their learning, let alone allow them to continue to learn independently. This may indicate a need to provide training until a minimal level of competence is achieved (as used to be the case in the civil service bilingualism program).

Alternatively, some immigrants who have little experience with formal schooling prior to their arrival in Canada find full-time intensive training overwhelming and stressful. In such cases, the availablitiy of some back-up training and assistance for an immigrant once s/he was on-the-job might ensure that an adequate level was achieved.

2.3 UNEMPLOYMENT

With the jobless rate at around 14% and little prospect for long term improvement in sight, periods of unemployment among immigrants have become commonplace. In order to take part in a re-training course offered by CEIC unemployed persons must fulfill certain requirements. In most cases they must have adequate official language skills, have attained a minimum of a grade 10 education and have been referred by a CEIC cousellor. Language training is available to the unemployed. If a cousellor authorizes training, an unemployed person may follow a language course- in an official language- offered by an approved, private institution while continuing to collect UIC benefits. Consequently, workers in occupations which are contracting rather than expanding might be able to use periods of unemployment as opportunities for participating in language training, academic upgrading, or job retraining. Immigrant women, especially those who had been employed in industries with high concentrations of immigrants and had had little opportunity to acquire official language/literacy skills, could benefit from the period of unemployment by enrolling in intensive, official language courses and acquiring the skills they need.

The provision of UIC benefits while taking a language course would free such women from some financial constraints and allow them to take the first steps towards academic upgrading, skill retraining or acquiring the language facility which will ease their efforts to communicate with schools and other mainstream institutions. Such a program exists at this time, and many language schools are anxious to get this business. It is by no means clear that the courses offered are suitable. For example, the kinds of general second language "conversation" courses that are offered to middle class Canadians may be unsuitable for immigrants' needs. In particular, a larger

literacy element, and needs-based content may be required by immigrants. As more immigrants get authorization to take such courses, more relevant, less general language courses will be needed.

2.4 SAFETY EDUCATION

Safety Education that is offered only in the official languages or through written materials and instructions may not reach many workers. Frontier College has had "80 years of grassroots experience" in literacy education in Canada. They recall an Ontario safety campaign featuring posters on what NOT to do. The resulting 150% increase in injuries in one month was attributed to the inability of the workers to read the written message of what they SHOULD do. They also report the

> fact that 55% of injured workers do not speak or read English or French. (Pearpoint, 1979 p.6)

This kind of evidence reaped from many years of experience underlines Frontier College's contention that there is a widespread inability amongst workers to obtain vital information via the written word. The results, demonstrated by avoidable industrial accidents, show that this is clearly a serious problem for both workers and management.

The provision of work-place classes in F/ESL and literacy are necessary to teach workers the necessary skills to be able to follow both oral and written instructions and improve safety on the job. In this case work-site classes are needed in order that workers themselves can identify the hazardous situations and operations on which course content could be founded. Their teacher would need access to the written instructions, including manuals, notices, posters, etc. and contact with supervisors so that safety courses can be designed around relevant and important information.

3. IMMIGRANTS OUTSIDE THE PAID WORKFORCE

3.1 DEPENDENCE ON SPOUSE OR SPONSOR

Family class immigrants and assisted relatives are not assessed on the full points system and thus may not have work or language skills that are demanded in Canada. At the same time they are not eligible for language training allowances since their sponsors have undertaken to be financially responsible for their maintenence. In some provinces sponsored immigrants are not eligible to receive some very basic social service benefits like daycare subsidies, for example (McGowan, 1982 p.9).

In the event of marital or sponsorship breakdown, sponsored immigrants may face deportation or the threat of deportation if they are unable to support themselves. Those women with least education, few work skills, and a poor command of an official language are placed in a difficult position.

The role of official language/literacy acquisition in successful settlement of both workers and non-workers cannot be stressed enough.

3.2 CULTURAL CONSTRAINTS

The multicultural structure of Canadian society is complex. Cultural backgrounds of our immigrants differ greatly from each other and from the mainstream culture. While it is impossible to give a full picture of the complexities of our multicultural society it is possible to give examples of such constraints that inhibit some immigrants from seeking learning opportunities.

In some cultures the woman's role is defined in terms of home and children. This may mean that women are not allowed to leave their homes unaccompanied by a man, or they may only be able to go out during the day. Other cultural constraints may require that women not be in the company of men outside of their family.

These restrictions may not eliminate these women's need or desire to learn English or French for their own requirements or to carry out their roles as mother and educator of their children. To accommodate these women several approaches are needed. In the first place classes for women only may be offered - with a woman teacher. In-home classes may help women or other shut-ins to benefit from educational activities. Alternatively, learning opportunities provided by her own cultural group may in some cases help meet her educational needs.

3.3 SHYNESS OR FEAR

Elderly immigrants who have recently arrived or others who have never learned much English/French despite a lengthy residence in Canada may feel a need to learn but be unwilling or unable to take part in institutionalized learning situations. This group may include retired immigrants, women who have devoted themselves to bringing up their families, those who come from culturally different societies, those who feel too old to learn, those who have been out of the educational system for many years.

These immigrants may feel a need to begin to learn an official language in order to be able to shop alone, read unfamiliar street signs and generally obtain increased independence. The learning difficulties and reticence of this group indicate certain needs that should be met.

In the first place such prospective learners may benefit from bilingual classes. Classes or courses that begin in the native language and gradually introduce the second language may provide the kind of atmosphere that will encourage shy or reticent learners. Native language teachers may facilitate learning by establishing a non-threatening atmosphere in which learners can be understood both linguistically and in terms of their own cultural customs. In addition to providing a non-stressful learning atmosphere, a native language teacher may be sufficiently in touch with the ethnic group that s/he can communicate better with his/her students, and stimulate discussions that are relevant to the particular ethnic community.

The use of such bilingual classes can provide students with confidence that they need to use their second language skills. In addition, it can provide a forum for disseminating information. For example, discussions in the native language can usually take place at a much deeper level than discussions in a second language; thus important issues may be dealt with efficiently and thoroughly, dispelling or clarifying misconceptions and fear. On the other hand, in-home classes may provide sufficient confidence for learners to venture out to seek group learning activities.

3.4 DISABILITY

Immigrants who lack official language/literacy skills and have some disability which prevents them leaving the home may need or wish to take part in educational opportunities as much as any other immigrant group.

Transportation to enable disabled persons to attend courses and maintain or establish contacts with the outside world is one need. Alternatively, provision of in-home classes may facilitate disabled people's access to learning opportunities.

SUMMARY

Various problems have been discussed and the kinds of language and literacy programs that might meet the needs of various groups of immigrants suggested. It may be well to list the program characteristics that have been mentioned in order to illustrate the variety of delivery systems that is required to satisfy unmet needs.

-group learning situations
-learner/needs-centred
-learner involvement
-community links for rural & urban programs.
-informal/community-based/setting
-drop-in flexibility
-non-threatening atmosphere
-bilingual teachers/ community workers
-culturally sensitive teachers / community workers

-availability of all-women classes
-scheduling to suit learners' timetables
-daycare provision
-intensive classes
-integrated on-the-job/literacy training
-competency criteria
-early efficient orientation
-transportation
-published non-racist materials with content based on relevant, useful information concerning:
    - workers' rights
    - worker safety
    - human and legal rights
    - social services
    - educational opportunities
    - work skills
    - immigration/deportation rules, etc.

-Free courses/materials
-work-place or union hall based classes
-convenient location; near public transportation
-one-to-one tuition available for shut-ins, etc.

CHAPTER 7: LANGUAGE AND LITERACY PROGRAMS FOR IMMIGRANTS

A "maze of..ingenious programs"-to use ex-Multiculturalism Minister Jim Fleming's description - designed to meet immigrants' needs has been developed across the country. However, the distribution of programs is fragmentary and the level of service provided inequitable and inadequate. Most programs are understaffed and underfunded: their resources stretched to the limits, their waiting lists long. Major urban areas offer a wider variety of services than rural areas although the range of needs is no less. Negotiating the "maze" of programs to find one that fits one's needs is part of the problem (The Immigrant Woman in Canada: A Right to recognition, 1981 p23).

Institutional language training courses were surveyed by Newsham and Acheson in their study ESL in Canada and Audrey Thomas has reported on the state of the literacy and Basic Education scene across Canada. Neither study concentrated on the those programs which teach F/ESL /literacy to immigrants. Adult day-schools and evening continuing education programs offer programs for educational upgrading, basic literacy and E/FSL training across the country. These programs tend to take place in institutionalized settings, with fixed-scheduled classes, and minimum enrollment limitations (although some community colleges have outreach or home-learning programs off campus). In the case of continuing education classes, fees to cover instructional costs are usually charged. For various groups, particularly non-learners, these factors constitute barriers which prevent or inhibit their participation (I.C.E.A. 1982, p.11).

This chapter will examine some of the programs that seek to overcome the barriers to education which prevent individuals from participating in the institutional courses. We will look at examples of specific programs that appear to meet a need or group of needs. Wherever possible, programs described in the literature will be featured. Inevitably, admirable programs may be omitted because literacy workers, who concentrate on the problems of the illiterates in the communities they serve, have little time to write about the programs they run.

The intention is to exemplify programs that seem to meet needs that are rarely met by programs in formal settings rather than to provide a comprehensive directory of "innovative" programs (there are nearly 400 programs in the Ontario Directory of literacy activities alone). Some programs are not currently in operation, others totter on the brink of extinction. Programs have been chosen, not as prototypes to be duplicated across the country but as examples of the types of programs that have grown up in response to needs felt in their communities.

Three groups of programs will be considered: a) Programs designed for individualized, one-to-one teaching for immigrants both in and out of the workforce; b) Programs for groups of immigrants both in and out of the workforce; c) programs for

immigrants in the workforce. Each group of programs is summarized in a chart which analyses both the program characteristics and some of the needs met. (In some cases complete information was not available, thus in the charts n/a indicates that information was not available.)

1. PROGRAMS FOR INDIVIDUALS

Language and literacy training on a one-to-one basis is demanded by individuals with certain needs: in particular, those with scheduling or childcare problems, shut-ins of various kinds, the elderly, immigrants whose culture restricts their contacts outside the home, individuals living in isolated communities or those who simply prefer to study in the privacy of their own home.

In many cases immigrants are isolated from the mainstream culture. Sometimes it is their own fear, shyness or lack of confidence that causes them to limit their activities to those inside their home or ethnic community. Sometimes they are inhibited by the extent of the cultural difference between themselves and mainstream Canadians or by negative experiences with dominant-culture members. An inadequate command of one of the official languages tends to deepen the isolation and exacerbate misunderstandings. In such cases, an in-home learning program may provide the immigrant with a positive experience with a member of the mainstream and help him/her develop sufficient confidence and skills to approach the mainstream culture and benefit from learning opportunities in the community.

The six programs described below all teach immigrants in an individualized mode. Their approaches, strengths and weaknesses differ. We will attempt to demonstrate the kinds of needs and problems that each program serves. This is summarized in CHART 4.

The first three programs (HAFLE, OLI English 001, and Arusha Radio) use the telephone as a medium for ESL instruction. None of these programs mentions teaching complete illiterates via the telephone and, intuitively, it seems unlikely that the use of the telephone alone would be an effective way of teaching this group. Supplementing telephone lessons with tuition from a literate bilingual aide may overcome this difficulty. However, for those with a basic grasp the Roman alphabet and some minimal literacy skills the media has potential- particularly as a back-up in outreach programs.

1.1 Help A Friend Learn English (HAFLE) (Butovsky, 1979 pp.30-39).

This ingenious Toronto-based program was developed by the Ministry of Citizenship and Culture to meet the needs of elderly, shut-in, Spanish-speaking immigrants. Paired volunteers

and learners use the telephone as the medium to conduct weekly English language lessons. The volunteers, usually elderly shut-ins themselves, used a bilingual text organised around situations that centred on immigrants' needs. This method assumes first language literacy on the part of the learner. In fact, the main drop-outs were those who lacked formal education. Often this problem was overcome by using a Spanish speaking tutor who could explain the Spanish text as well as the English.

The evaluation of this program confirmed that the main gain of its participants was friendship and confidence. The course provides a unique service to elderly Spanish-speaking immigrants, who might find a group class taught entirely in English overpowering. It also constitutes a stepping stone for shy persons who may gain enough confidence from a period of telephone tutoring to venture out and take part in a more traditional group learning activity.

HAFLE is very cheap to operate, requiring minimal administrative expenses. The tutors gain a great deal from their voluntary participation in the project without incurring any expense. However, the expected rate increases of local telephone calls may affect the willingness of volunteers to participate in telephone tutoring. Long-distance tutoring would obviously be even more expensive. Thus, while the medium lends itself to outreach tutoring the costs in the future may inhibit tutors from volunteering.

1.2 Open Learning Institute: ESL 001 (Telephone Tutoring)
(letter from Mary Selman, Project Director)

The Open Learning Institute (B.C.) is in the process of launching a new basic beginners English course with several interesting features. Participants in this interprovincial project are Ontario, B.C., Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, & Nova Scotia.

The course is designed to provide a learning opportunity to individuals who wish to study at their own speed, on their own time, at home to replace or supplement traditional language learning activities. It offers a degree of flexibility not possible with institutionalized, regularly scheduled language classes. The target population is immigrants who are literate in their first language and familiar with the Roman alphabet. Individuals who are illiterate in their first language could be paired with a bilingual aide to help cope with the materials either initially or on a continuing basis. A strong outreach element is built into the structure. This course should provide a high quality individualized learning opportunity for people living in rural as well as urban areas, for senior citizens, housewives, disabled people and shut-ins.

The materials for the course include a manual, and audio cassettes which are translated into eight languages: Polish,

French, Vietnamese, Italian, Punjabi, Portuguese, Spanish, Cantonese and Mandarin. (The last two languages are the same in print, but different on tape.) Speakers of other languages could use the materials with the help of an aid. In B.C. the multicultural agencies are cooperating in locating aides who speak and read the first language of the learner.

Unlike the HALFE program in Toronto, the course is designed to be taught by qualified ESL instructors. They will keep in contact with each student by telephone. In B.C. these instructors will have orientation and inservice training in distance learning techniques. Tutors will prepare remedial exercises, assess student progress, and perform the tasks of a professional teacher. The use of qualified, paid instructors in combination with professionally prepared and tested materials makes English 001 a very unusual course which incorporates a degree of flexibility and responsiveness that is unlikely to be present if volunteer tutors are used.. It appears to be an attempt to offer a quality service to meet needs which were not being met before and potentially in isolated areas which had minimal services.

1.3 The Arusha Radio Project : Alberta
(Roessingh, 1983 p.6).

A multimedia project funded by the Federal Multicultural program featured a series of ten 20 minute soap operas, a photostory workbook, two exercise cassettes and a tutorial phone-in network.

The story line of the radio broadcasts focused on the romantic involvement of two main characters while the content included such topics as unemployment, alcoholism, and immigration ; subjects chosen to be relevant to immigrants' needs.

The course involved skill development through structured exercises, contact with a telephone tutor and tasks that took the students out into the community to practise apply their learning.

The outreach potential of this kind of course is great. It removes a transportation problem of isolated learners, and allows them to study at their own speed in the privacy of their home. The participants in this pilot project were intermediate level adults from various linguistic backgrounds. The emphasis was on "oral comprehension using a functional approach" and literacy does not seem to have been a primary focus. The idea of extending such a project to teach literacy, perhaps with the use of bilingual aids and community workers seems feasible.

Radio has been used extensively for teaching literacy in Third World countries and seems a good medium for use in serving some of Canada's isolated regions. While the Arusha pilot was aimed at intermediate learners it seems likely that, with the aid

of community workers or bilingual aids, such an approach could be used successfully with illiterate immigrants at lower levels of proficiency. The practice of teaching functional skills in conjunction with community contact in the exercises and tasks is likely to encourage some people to try out their skills.

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The next three programs use face-to-face rather than telephone contact and are thus more adaptable for use with immigrants at all levels of literacy. ALY employs trained ESL teachers rather than volunteers but all three attempt to provide a flexible service suited to the needs expressed by the individual. The last two EAST END LITERACY and FRONTIER COLLEGE employ a holistic approach, not limiting their focus to literacy but attempting to work with the individual in relation with the community. East End Literacy serves urban Torontonians, whereas Frontier College has programs that reach out to the most isolated regions of Canada.

1.4 Action for Literacy in York (ALY) (Gordon, 1984).

ALY was something of a breakthrough in that the project was adequately funded by a combination of provincial and federal money to carry out a project that could employ 50 qualified teachers. An intensive training period, on-going professional development, extensive contact with community service and ethnic organizations and a thorough evaluation and reporting process were other note-worthy aspects of this project. As such, the needs of a previously "unidentified population" were met in an effective and sensitive manner.

The ALY project was initiated in September 1983 to address the literacy and language needs of homebound learners: the disabled, seniors, shiftworkers, school leavers, and those with child-care constraints or cultural pressures. The Learning Enrichment Foundation -a non-profit, multi-cultural, community service organisation - received a grant from Canada Ontario Employment Development, and Employment and Immigration Canada. After the initial six month research and development project, the program was turned into a Continuing Education program, funded by the local school board.

This constitutes a change in orientation for CEIC from seeking work-oriented goals to pursuing more general language and literacy goals. In fact, the content of each learner's course was based on his/her stated interests and needs. Some learners wanted to improve their English writing skills, while others wanted ESL upgrading in order to qualify for a better job. Reading the weekly grocery advertisements might be the goal of another learner. Other participants might lack the confidence to participate in a classroom learning situation and need individual attention for a transition period.

The teachers hired for this program were fully qualified and some had an ESL background. A three-week training and orientation course which included local experts in ESL/literacy and specialists in community work sensitized the tutors to the problems of their potential students and provided them with some guidance on ESL/literacy teaching. Each session was evaluated seperately. This information provides a "future planning perspective" indicating how such a training course might be improved for subsequent projects (Gordon, p.8). Professional development was provided throughout the project in the form of conferences, workshops, and seminars on a variety of subjects.

Early in the project, the planning team contacted 500 community, ethnic, educational and social service agencies which might refer clients to ALY. An information package containing a letter, posters, pamphlets, bookmarks and flyers in 16 languages, was sent to these community contacts. Multilingual flyers were also distributed liberally around the York neighbourhoods. There was an intensive media and advertising campaign in local newspapers and newsletters, on t.v. and radio. When the effectiveness of the different types of publicity was evaluated, "professional referral" had provided over 200 of the 450 learners (Gordon, p.17).

The 450 learners wished to participate in a home-based learning situation for a variety of reasons. Physical and emotional disability accounted for 150 participants. Daycare and work schedule problems accounted for another 150. The remaining 150 learners needed extra help to cope with other courses or had negative feelings towards school.

Information was collected and tabulated on various aspects of the participants including language background, schooling, age and sex. The learners had diverse language backgrounds. Only 80 spoke English or an English dialect, while in excess of 32 languages were represented among the balance.

The clients were tutored in Literacy, ESL, ESL/Literacy, Upgrading and Numeracy. Each participant's needs were assessed during the initial contact and a course of study planned. Subsequent adjustments were made to meet needs that arose during the tutoring. Because the teachers were well-trained and had access to a bank of suitable materials they could respond to the needs of their students on an on-going basis. This built in flexibility is a central strength of the program. In a sense it is a quantum leap forward in that the establishment of the program recognizes that those least able to speak for themselves are afforded a quality educational opportunity they need. The fact that the pilot project was taken over by the school board appears to point to a committment to provide the most disadvantaged sections of the community with education from trained teachers.

The research and evaluation elements of the program provide a base of evidence that could be used to launch a similar program, taking into account the lessons learned and the strengths and weaknesses of ALY.

1.5 EAST END LITERACY

A learner-oriented approach is adopted by EAST END LITERACY, a community-based program in Toronto. Elaine Gaber-Katz, the coordinator, maintains that while illiteracy is associated with a linked set of problems, a program that seeks to address illiteracy should recognize "the whole person in a particular social context" (Turbide, 1982 p.31). Consequently, programs are not merely set up for learners, learners are encouraged to be active participants in their learning, not only in defining their needs and setting their own goals but in assessing their progress with their tutor.

Although much of the literacy tutoring is done on a one-to-one basis, learners are encouraged to participate in group activities and events at EEL. For example, a group of tutors and learners meets regularly for discussions and to plan the publication of The Writer's Voice. This is a magazine featuring the writings of learners involved in the literacy programs. Learners not only write the articles but are involved in the process of publishing - planning, editing, photography, printing and distribution. This constitutes an excellent example of active, participatory learning, where learners practise their literacy skills but learn related communications and organisational skills too.

In many other ways EEL attempts to make the link between an individual, his learning and the community. For example, many of the learners at EEL come from a particular public housing estate. Common problems experienced by EEL learners with respect to housing may lead to a cooperative learning activity (with all those involved working together to understand a lease, for example) and result in joint action to solve the problem. Thus literacy teaching may revolve around understanding a legal contract, making a claim to the rental board, or writing a letter of complaint. As far as is possible, learners are encouraged to share their learning with other participants.

Learners at EEL may gain confidence in knowing that they are not alone in fighting their problems . They may feel they have gained their voice, both through the opportunity to publish their stories and in joining with others to try to solve their problems.

1.6 FRONTIER COLLEGE

Frontier College, Toronto, Canada's oldest adult education institution, is active in many fields of literacy including work

with prison inmates, the disabled and geographically isolated workers. The last is their most famous program. Frontier College coordinates labourer-teachers who work on logging or mining camps, railway and construction sites in the wilderness and offer a variety of services to their fellow workers between shifts including literacy training, recreational and sports activities and counselling services.

The College has published several books and pamphlets which are used in both tutor training and as course manuals. In particular they have developed the S.C.I.L. program (Student Centred Individualized Learning). The published materials include: A Tutor's Handbook, a "how to" book to enable local groups to set up and organize their own literacy activities and four videos which illustrate basic teaching techniques (Frontier College Annual Report, 1983). Like EEL, Frontier College also gives learners an opportunity to write and publish their own thoughts and stories (for example, a booklet called What Can I Say). This not only gives learners an opportunity to tell others their stories but provides other learners with "easy-to-read" materials that reflect their reality, their concerns.

An idea of Frontier's philosophy is provided in a booklet entitled, About Teaching by Marsha Forest. Their approach assumes that all individuals can learn and be taught. Students are believed to learn best if the learning is relevant to them and they are involved in both the planning and the process. To workers in isolated parts of Canada (and to many other marginalized groups). Frontier College provides a learner-based educational opportunity.

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All three charts in this chapter use the same simple evaluation system. Plus and minus (+,-) signs are used to indicate the presence or absence of a particular element. Thus all the programs above have a minus sign for the `group' factor since all are individualized programs. EEL has both a + and a - sign on this factor since it offers participants the opportunity to become involved in group community activities too.

With respect to `teachers', a + sign indicates a qualified teacher, a - sign indicates a volunteer. Consequently, OLI & ALY are more flexible (+) than HAFLE, which depends on volunteer tutors. EEL and Frontier College have + on `flexibilty' since their basic philosophies demand that the learners have a say in the development of their learning program. The last two programs and Arusha stress the community-linked aspect of learning and thus have a + on `community-oriented'.

OLI and HAFLE have + on `bi/multilingual' because of the nature of their materials. ALY has very strong links with the various ethnic community organisation groups and prints its promotional material in numerous languages. ALY is also able to provide work skills; hence a + on this factor.

CHART 4: PROGRAMS FOR INDIVIDUALS IN/OUT OF THE WORKFORCE

PROGRAMS	HAFLE	O.L.I. ENGLISH 001	ARUSHA RADIO	ALY	E.E.L	FRONTIER COLLEGE
CHARACTERISTICS						
teachers	-	+	-	+	-	-
intensity	-	-	-	-	-	-
group	-	-	-	-	- +	-
prepared materials	+	+	+	+ -	+ -	+ -
flexibility	-	+	-	+	+	+
bi/multilingual	+	+	-	- +	-	-
community-oriented	-	-	+	+	+	+
NEEDS						
informal atmosphere	+	+	+	+	+	+
daycare	-	-	-	-	?+	-
free courses/ materials	+	-	n/a	+	+	-
work skills	-	+?	-	+	-	-
orientation/ information	+	+	+	+	+	+
confidence building	+	+	+	+	+	+
convenient location	+	+	+	+	+	+

None of the six programs described attempts to provide intensive (full-time) instruction in official/language literacy. Their strength lies in their ability to teach necessary skills in an informal non-threatening manner thus building the learner's confidence. While OLI and ALY build in flexibility through the employment of qualified teachers, EEL and Frontier reduce

isolation through creating strong links between literacy, the learner and the community.

2. PROGRAMS FOR GROUPS

2.1 Parent and Pre-school Programs (formerly Moms+Tots)

Parent and Preschool programs are now common in many parts of Canada. Volunteers typically work in a community setting, helping to teach English while providing a non-threatening contact with the host community. In some instances these programs are run from multi-ethnic community centres. For example, the South Vancouver Neighbourhood House employs a staff that "reflects the multicultural nature of the community" and attempts to ease the social integration of the immigrants it serves (Equality Now, p9).

The arrival of a wave of Italian immigrants into a lower middle-class district of Toronto resulted in antagonism between the two communities. The immigrant women were ineligible for Manpower language training courses, lacked formal education and experienced problems communicating with the local school principal. The men were predominantly shift workers, and so the women with small children were unable to go out to evening language classes.

Noting the predicament of these new arrivals, a Toronto minister's wife started ESL classes for mothers with small children. Daycare was provided for the tots. This laid the foundation for the current program which includes some 200 community-based classes with daycare in Metro Toronto.

Finding materials for use with these groups was a problem due to the learners lack of formal education. Various ad hoc measures were taken such as the simplification of "Citizenship" lessons and teacher produced mimeos.

Betty Butterworth (1974) writing on the importance of CONTENT for adult immigrant classes recommended a series of community resources which drew attention to the various services available in the larger community. Subsequently, some of the volunteer teachers compiled a book called Orientation Resources organised around such themes as nutrition, women's rights, housing, schooling etc. Each thematic section devoted sub-sections to topics such as materials and resources (giving names and addresses of sources of free pamphlets and information), lesson plans, suggested activities, exercises and supplementary activities. This book, now out-of-print (and out-of-date as far as names and addresses go), is an example of an excellent resource for community based classes: a ready reference that community teachers or volunteers may consult in order to find materials that are immediately relevant and useful to the learners they are teaching.

These programs recognize several problems that immigrants, and particularly immigrant women, face. They meet several needs: the need for daycare provision; basic, cheap ESL/literacy classes in an informal community setting; day-time classes; a practical orientation to Canadian living as well as reliable information concerning services in the greater community.

Most classes concentrate on oral skills, i.e. conversation. Some literacy is introduced in that some simple reading is done, and some functional writing -like form filling in -is attempted. However, linguistic progress in these programs tends to be very slow. The results can be seen more in terms of reduction of stress, building confidence, easing social integration and creating a willingness to try other learning opportunities.

2.2 International Centre : Winnipeg
(Thomas, 1979 p.69).

The International Centre is a multi-service private agency funded by three levels of government, corporate and charitable organisations. Services include English conversation, reading and spelling, orientation and counselling, referral, welcome parties, a language bank of interpreters and translators, consumer help, babysitting, and ethno-cultural activities.

The Literacy program of the International Centre was a spinoff from the English conversation classes provided by the original welcome house for immigrants. Qualified, paid professionals teach classes which range from beginners to pre-university, while complete illiterates and slow learners are tutored on a one-to-one basis by volunteers.

Teachers keep an open register, allowing participants to enter or leave at any time. Four 2-hour time slots are offered on Mondays and Wednesdays facilitating participation by shift workers. The materials and curriculum have "evolved naturally from practical experience" and are changed and adapted to meet the needs of the clientele.

The International Centre provides an informal drop-in center facility with as much flexibility as possible.

2.3 Vietnamese Refugees in Alberta

Some programs attempt to relieve the stress of the unknown by providing important information through the native language of the immigrants. The Alberta program for Vietnamese refugees is an example.

In Alberta, in 1978, bilingual classes were set up using an English speaking teacher and a Chinese/Vietnamese interpreter. The course content was determined by the needs of the particular group but the format was invariable. During a basic orientation

period of 3-6 weeks the refugees were introduced to information on Canada and its customs through an interpreter. Details of local services were also provided. Thus important information was relayed to the participants in their native language. The courses were fairly informal, including field trips to libraries, markets etc. Discussion could take place at a fairly sophisticated level, important questions quickly answered and misunderstandings clarified.

After this initial bilingual period, simplified English instruction was gradually introduced.

One major benefit of this program was that refugees who had been through one of these orientation courses fitted into regular ESL courses much better than those who had not. For the refugees themselves, their major doubts and questions about life in Canada had been answered effectively. The removal of this major stress factor meant that they could concentrate on learning English and would know where to go for help should they need it.

Courses like this are only held when there are sufficient immigrants of the same linguistic background to form a reception class. They provide a valuable service to a group that otherwise might be very vulnerable especially for individuals who are illiterate in their native language. Donna McGee of Vancouver Community College related the concern of teachers attempting to incorporate "preliterates" into a class of first language literates. She observed that while there are often "a handful" of pre-literates in many ESL classes, "we lose them" (personal communication).

In place of, or in addition to native language orientation classes, multlingual guides or handbooks such as the Newcomers Guide to Services in Ontario, which is published in different languages are of great assistance to most new arrivals. Not all languages of immigrants to Ontario can be included, and immigrants who are illiterate in their own language must depend on literate compatriots for information.

2.4 St. Stephen's Community House

At St. Stephen's Community House in Toronto, a different kind of bilingual class is organized. These are courses for Portuguese, Italian, and Chinese women. In each class the learners are from one linguistic background while the teacher is bilingual and can explain things to the students in their own language. English language and literacy are introduced gradually in a non-threatening manner.

The objective is for the participants to learn English with the least stress, from a teacher who is sympathetic and understanding about their cultural background. This kind of course meets the needs of immigrant women who despite sometimes

long residence in Canada remain isolated from the mainstream - both linguistically and culturally.

The teachers are qualified ESL teachers who are paid by the local school board. St. Stephen's provides a community setting for the learners to meet, learn and socialize. One of the objectives is to raise the women's level of confidence to the point where they can use their skills in the community and eventually benefit from courses given in English.

2.5 N.E.W. -New Experience for Refugee Women
(Cross Cultural Communication Centre Newsletter, 1984)

NEW -a Toronto based program- seeks to "promote the integration of refugee women into Canadian society". It recognizes that Latin American refugees have suffered

> emotional, psychological and physical trauma as victims of political repression and torture.
> (NEW flyer, CCCC Newsletter, July 1984)

Despite the stress of their experiences before arriving in Canada, the women will be expected to play their traditional role of keeping the family together. Their employment prospects will be inhibited by their lack of English, and lack of work skills and experience relevant to Canadian society. At the same time, according to the NEW flyer, the traditional role of these women will be "challenged by Canadian customs".

Twelve Spanish-speaking refugee women will be able to participate in each 22 week intensive course (all day/five days per week) which will offer "comprehensive counselling in orientation, language skills, and employment skills" (CCCC Newsletter, July 1984).

This program is very modest in size but it seeks to achieve integration in the best sense : seeking the goals of workforce readiness and Canadian orientation in an intensive effort. The unilingual background of the refugees is an interesting element. Their past, in Latin America, and present experiences in Canada, and their goals are likely to be similar. This should be a cohesive force operating on the group.

2.6 Focus on Change

The YWCA offers programs for sole-support mothers who need "upgrading in math and English in order to prepare for a job search" (CCCC Newsletter, July/August 1984). The program is free; childcare for preschoolers and bus tickets are provided.

The objective of the women enrolled in these programs is to change their lives; "to exchange a life on welfare for one of

financial independence" (Pat Marshall, 1983 p.61). Pat Marshall works with groups of women to help them refine their communication skills and develop some critical consciousness. The topics discussed are those raised by the group.

In the video "Once More with Meaning", some women in Pat Marshall's group are seen discussing a pamphlet distributed by the police providing information on self-defence techniques for women. The women critically examine the information, the format, the tone and the assumptions of the pamphlet and decide that they disagree with some of the points. Rather than leaving the discussion there, Pat encourages them to express their disapproval in terms of a letter to the police describing the opinions and suggestions of their group. Other discussions have resulted in trips to lobby the government. This is an "effective way to channel anger" and provides the women with "a public voice" (Marshall, p. 61).

This program attempts to contextualize literacy: helping powerless people to express their opinions in constructive ways. The approach recognizes the participants as reasoning beings able to analyse their lives and attempt to solve their own problems. As such, it offers an opportunity for the women in the program to reach a degree of independence that they did not think themselves capable of before.

2.7 Working Skills Centre (WSC)
(Chacon, 1982)

WSC provides an integrated program incorporating on-the-job technical training, life skills and English for "disadvantaged immigrant women" (Chacon, Forward). The program attempts to build self confidence in the women's abilities and skills, to facilitate integration into "Canadian socioeconomic reality" and to obtain and maintain a job.

Florrie Chacon compiled a manual which forms the basic materials for all but the technical job skills part of the program. This handbook Life Skills and English for Immigrant Women offers practical information and exercises in personal life skills, community skills such as banking, telephoning and using transportation, medical/ health and education facilities. Both oral and literacy skills are developed. Writing skills practised are of a distinctly practical nature using realia like cheques and forms. The development of reading skills includes such activities as scanning and skimming to obtain information from print resources like directories and newspapers.

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Unlike the individualized programs, six of the seven group programs mentioned above employ qualified, paid teachers and four of them are offered on an intensive basis. Programs with these characteristics may pursue more ambitious goals than the part-time courses taught by volunteers. The Moms & Tots programs and

the St. Stephens program in particular offer women a non-threatening learning atmosphere and an opportunity to acquire skills and confidence that may facilitate their participation in mainstream society and more ambitious learning experiences. Moms & Tots in Vancouver, and International Centre in Winnipeg are examples of programs that link the learners to their neighbourhoods through their community centre setting and possibilities for socialization. They consequently help reduce the sense of isolation that many immigrant women feel.

CHART 5: GROUP PROGRAMS FOR THOSE IN/OUT OF THE WORKFORCE

PROGRAMS	MOMS & TOTS	INT. CENTRE	ALBERTA refugee	ST. STEPHENS	N.E.W	FOCUS ON CHANGE	WSC
FACTORS							
teachers	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
intensity	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
group	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
prepared materials	+ -	-	-	-	-	-	+
flexibility	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
bi/multi lingual	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
community oriented	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
NEED							
informal atmosphere	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
daycare	+	+	n/a	n/a	+	+	n/a
free	+	n/a	n/a	n/a	+	+	+
work skills	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
orientation information	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
confidence building	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
transport. conven.loc.	+	?	+	?	+	+	+

Focus on Change, WSC, and NEW offer women the opportunity to develop literacy, language and life skills that they may need to enter or re-enter the paid workforce. Focus on Change is particularly notable since the women involved are encouraged to develop their critical faculties and take an active role in the planning and development of their program.

3. WORK-PLACE CLASSES

In the descriptions of work-place classes below several themes recur. All seem to have been run by teachers who were willing to expend extra effort to generate materials that would be interesting and useful to their students. The students themselves seemed to appreciate and benefit from the courses. For many who had been resident in Canada for long periods without having learned any English but at the same time felt the need to learn this was their first opportunity to take part in an educational language learning activity in Canada.

However, the courses were plagued by high drop-out rates due to lay offs and firings. Some courses were stopped by management who feared that learning would result in union organisation, or that workers would quit their jobs once they acquired official language and other skills. On the other hand, some workers did not participate for fear of losing their jobs. The fears on both sides are very real and point to the inevitable problem of establishing who will benefit from the courses and what will be taught.

Whenever a work-site class is contemplated it is necessary to analyse the goals of workers and management and establish how, if at all, these goals are compatible. If it is found that workers need language/literacy courses for purposes which management cannot support, then some alternative funding has to be found. In this case classes held at the union hall or some neutral location are necessary. The adoption of paid educational leave as a right for all workers would go a long way to assuaging workers' fears.

3.1 Tip Top
(Wright, 1978)

A planner at the City of Toronto Planning Board identified various needs in the predominantly "ethnic" Spadina area. Among the needs identified were dayscare, health services and ESL classes. As a result the Education Director of the ACTWU was approached and classes took place at the factory after work time. The teachers were paid by the Toronto Board of Education.

The immigrant women participants were sewers in the factory who spoke little or no English. The course was organised around the work environment including work vocabulary and functional

language to cope with the city environment - survival English. In particular the learners were taught how to ask questions and findout information on such topics as Workmen's compensation, the union contract, UIC etc. No texts reflected the needs and problems of these workers nor covered the key topics at the necessary level and so ad hoc materials were developed and used as student work books.

Distinct ethnic groupings were present in the class. The teacher tried to encourage the groups to mingle and eventually they felt able to talk about their homelands and background and were able to move on to discuss their common problems and experiences in the factory setting.

The existence of ethnic ghettos in the workplace, often occupational divisions being marked along ethnic lines, leads to misunderstandings among workers often through a lack of an effective means of communication. Sometimes job promotion to certain occupations is prevented because the individual is not of the same ethnic background as other workers in that occupation. Any measures that can break down these communication barriers and ease factory relations is beneficial to the workers.

3.2 Jantzen Project
(Brishkai Lund, 1976)

The Janzen project was a direct result of a joint research project (Vancouver YWCA + Status of Women) which isolated ESL training as lacking among the non-English speaking women of Vancouver and recommended that on-the-job language training be offered.

Four organisations cooperated and provided support for this venture : Jantzen Canada Ltd., Vancouver Community College, The Department of Manpower and Immigration (CEIC), and the Social Planning Department of the City of Vancouver.

83% of the workers at Jantzen were immigrant women, and their supervisors estimated that between 65-70% could not communicate in English. (Being able to communicate was defined as not needing an interpreter to undertake the employment interview.) The research revealed that though most of the women spoke their native language at work, they found their lack of English "difficult ... inconvenient and (sometimes) frustrating." Two thirds of the women had tried to learn English prior to their participation in the Jantzen project but had had to stop taking classes due to work or family responsibilities - only 2 of 35 had completed a course.

Research played a key role in this project with input and evaluations completed by participants, supervisors, management and teachers. The results of the research are reported fully in the Final Report. Despite its obvious sucess, and the reported

need for a workplace language program, the pilot does not appear to have been extended or repeated.

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The two programs mentioned above took place at the workplace and relayed important job-related information to the participants. Many of the workers' needs were met by these programs while management's ends were achieved too. Thus, in many cases it is possible for work-site language and literacy courses to cover common concerns.

Inevitably, workers have other language/literacy needs which are not met workplace programs organized in conjunction with management. Some programs are run for and by the workers; here the participants' needs are primary. The focus of these programs is on the analysis, understanding and resolution of the learners' problems. To do this the learners are involved in setting up the program, defining its goals and planning the course itself. Some such projects have resulted in videos, songs, or photostories, for example, which reflect the immigrant's experience. In the process of arriving at the end-product, the learners gained a great deal: they acquired knowledge, developed skills and experience in the collective process cooperating with others, listening to each other, developing understanding, etc (Nettle, 1982 p.123).

The Cleaner's action class is just one example. Describing the process of just one class illustrates how the learning takes place.

3.3 Cleaners' Action Project
Adult Services of St. Christopher House (Toronto)
(Nettle, TESL Talk Vol 13, No. 4, 1982)

The class for Cleaners was started in fall 1979 and was later taken over by St. Christopher House (Nettle, p.121). It began with the participants looking at the slide-tape Fernanda (produced by another English at the Workplace group) and some books made by British workers. The discussion of these materials lead to the women's decision to make a slide-tape for themselves.

The process of attempting to produce the slide-tape involved much language and literacy learning. The women discussed and analysed their difficulties at work, assessed the good and bad points of being involved in their occupation, and tried to look for solutions to their common problems. They explored ways of interacting with supervisors and weighed the pros and cons of different approaches. They learned how to use a tape recorder and plan a roleplay, make a flowchart, analyse changes and determine who initiated the changes.

The photographs for the slide-tape project did not turn out, so the women decided to write a song instead. The song focused on the women's need for a union, and the experiences they had cleaning massive office buildings at night.

Having written and practised the song the women visited other classes to perform and talk about it.

3.4 Montreal Experiment (d'Anglejan, 1978)

C.O.F.I courses are open to any immigrant to Quebec who wishes to learn French. They feature intensive 30 week courses taught by profesional FSL teachers. The focus was on oral skills, and writing and reading were assumed to develop automatically. To a certain extent, it was true that reading skills transfered from one language to another, however it was found that some immigrants, mainly those with little formal education, made little progress. Literacy classes were added at COFIs with large numbers of illiterate learners and survival literacy skills were taught (Weber & Freitag, 1979 p.254). Alternatively, various innovative experiments were tried.

In the experiment to be described, immigrants who had made little progress after 30 weeks instruction were placed in carefully chosen "occupational slots in French speaking environments" (d'Anglejan p.230). Contact with COFI was maintained through weekly 3-hour visits with a researcher and 2-3 immigrants to discuss experiences, and problems and receive help where necessary.

The expectation was that language fluency would develop but it was felt that this would be dependent on the distance between the learners own culture and Quebec culture.

This was an interesting pilot project but it does not attempt to tackle the basic problems of the most needy immigrants'experience: acquiring an official language when their work and home lives are spent speaking their first language. If all immigrants could be placed in situations where they came into contact with speakers of the target language in the normal course of their work, very few would know no English/French after several years residence in Canada. The fact is that immigrants with low educational attainment tend to find work in industries that employ mainly immigrants, where the opportunity to meet target language speakers is limited. However, the idea of providing quality language/literacy on-the-job training is promising and would benefit many workers if such a program could be expanded.

3.5 RED LAKE
(Anderson, TESL Talk, 13, No 4 (1982)

The programs that Audrey Anderson described took place in rural Northwest Ontario among the immigrant or migrant gold-mining or logging workers. Her objective was to develop a student-centred "problem-posing" approach based on the expressed needs and interests of the workers in her program.

At the non-unionized mine in which one course was organized the management cooperated fully to assist in the provision of classroom space, pictures, diagrams, glossaries of mining vocabulary and audio-visual equipment, etc (Anderson 1982, p.95). Management realized that it had much to gain by the success of the course and its goal, both in terms of improving health and safety records and encouraging employees "to stay in order to maximize (the company's) investment in training" (p.95).

At the same time the workers wanted to participate in the English class in order to learn the vocabulary of mining operations to be able to communicate and understand instructions on the job; facilitating communications among workers and between workers and management in the mine. Consequently, the workers were "highly motivated to learn English in order to keep their jobs" (p.95).

While the instructor had to do a great deal of preparation for this course in order to understand the basic workings of a gold mine, she did not pretend to be an expert. She turned this 'deficit' to advantage by using workers in the program as "major sources of information" and for supplying teaching materials (p.99). At times she would use the written work of more advanced participants as reading material for beginning English learners. By stressing the role of participant input and student-teacher cooperation a situation was created where the learner had the opportunity to become an "active participant in the process of his/her own education" (p.99).

Anderson pointed out the importance of using participant interests and needs as the basic curriculum themes to ensure that the course remained relevant to the participants and that the instructor was not "guilty of imposing his/her values by exercising the power equated with a teacher's position" (p.97). For example, studying arsenic poisoning with gold miners seemed to be a good topic since it affected the health and safety of every miner. However, Anderson observed that it was only of passing interest since it appeared that miners felt that arsenic was a fact of life in the mine and not something over which they had any control. In general, they preferred to discuss topics of a more controllable nature. In times of high unemployment when workers lack job security they often fear a confrontation with their employer.

English classes at the workplace have to tread a fine line-between the interests of the employer and the employees. For the

interests of the participants to be fully served, they must play an active role in deyeloping the curriculum and setting relevant goals.

CHART 6: GROUP PROGRAMS FOR WORKERS

PROGRAMS	TIP TOP	JANTZEN	CLEANERS ACTION	COFI exp.	RED LAKE AEEC
FACTORS					
teachers	+	+	+	+	+
intensity	-	-	-	+	-
group	+	+	+	+	+
prepared materials	-	-	-	-	-
flexibility	+	+	+	+	+
bi/multi lingual	-	-	-	-	-
community oriented	+	+	+	-	+
NEEDS					
informal atmosphere	+	+	+	+	+
daycare	-	-	-	-	-
free courses +pay	+	+	n/a	+	n/a
work skills	+	+	+	+	+
orientation information	+	+	+	+	+
safety education	+	+	+	n/a	+
confidence building	+	+	+	+	+
convenient location/ transportation	+	+	+	+	+

CONCLUSION

Learners in intensive programs employing qualified paid teachers appear to have the most chance of achieving rapid progress. Courses designed to meet and adapt to learner needs and those which encourage active learner input and involvement are likely to be most relevant and useful to the participants.

Part-time courses employing mainly volunteers tend to provide stress-free learning situations and an opportunity to build basic skills. These informal courses make a considerable contribution particularly in terms of improving confidence of the participants and establishing links within the community, thus reducing the sense of stress and isolation that many immigrants experience living in Canada. However, they should be viewed as providing a stepping stone or interim stage leading to more ambitious learning environments.

A lack of published course materials was noticed throughout. In some cases courses are built around the literacy and language used in a particular work place and much time and energy needs to be devoted to compiling these materials. However, general work-site materials for language and literacy classes are needed. Much information is common to different occupations in the same province e.g. worker compensation procedures, labour codes, minimum wage laws, etc. The provision of good materials on subjects which are in the jurisdictions of either the provincial or federal governments may reduce the workloads of literacy teachers and prevent duplication of effort. Better networking among literacy programs would facilitate pooling or sharing materials.

The majority of the programs described are aimed at city dwellers. Programs that utilize the media of the telephone, the T.V. or the radio help to bring educational opportunities to immigrants living in more rural parts of Canada. However the importance of face-to-face contact with instructors should not be discounted. Where immigrants feel isolated from the main stream culture and its members, programs that attempt to create links between the learner and his/her host community are invaluable.

CHAPTER 8 : CONCLUSION

The question of immigrant illiteracy has been excluded from studies of literacy activities in Canada in the past on the assumption that the literacy needs of immigrants were adequately served by the language training provided by the various levels of government. However, it appears that several factors militate against this assumption.

In the first place, of immigrants with an inadequate command of one of Canada's official languages a minority receives federally-sponsored, intensive language training shortly after arrival. Some immigrants do not qualify, others find work immediately, others quit their courses early - as soon as they find paid employment. A particularly vulnerable group -unskilled immigrant women - may live and work in Canada for many years without ever acquiring basic language skills or literacy or attaining access to educational opportunities.

Secondly, the objectives of official language training courses for immigrants do not always include functional literacy. Usually the aim is to provide sufficient oral survival skills for immigrants to obtain work and to enable them to support themselves and their families. Literacy is assumed to follow.

Thirdly, language training is usually limited to six months. This may be perfectly adequate for some immigrants, particularly those coming from cultures similar to Canada's, but for many it is insufficient. The changes in immigration trends in the last few years have highlighted this inadequacy. In the case of immigrants with little knowledge of English or French, or those familiar with neither the Roman alphabet nor a literacy-bound culture, six months is likely to be inadequate. Likewise, immigrants needing a high level of proficiency to perform adequately in their professions often do not receive enough training to achieve this level of literacy.

In short, immigrant official language training shortly after arrival is just a beginning. For most of the immigrants Canada now receives it is an inadequate basis on which to acquire literacy.

Oral ability in an official language is seen as essential for the successful integration of immigrants to Canada but literacy is needed as well for full independent participation in society. Extension of language training to all classes of immigrants with special programs for non-Roman alphabetics, pre-literates and non-literates would help ease the integration of many immigrants. However, the "problem" cannot be solved in a short intensive course. Literate Canadians take many years to achieve their level of literacy and illiterates, whether immigrant or native born, will not attain such a level in a few

months. Thus, some kind of long-term commitment is needed -from government, education providers and learners themselves.

The literacy demands made upon Canadians are ever increasing and the technological explosion is widening the gap between those who have access to sources of information and those who do not; those who are literate, and those who are not. And what is illiteracy? The definitions are vague and elusive. The current criterion for estimating the size of the functionally illiterate population- an indirect measure - is inadequate. No suitable direct measure exists which takes into account the skills that are necessary for independent participation in Canadian society. Until such a measure is formulated, and widely administered, the true extent of functional illiteracy in Canada will remain in question.

Income data on Canadians with less than a grade 9 education tend to indicate that those most likely to be functionally illiterate are also poor, and would consequently experience financial constraints on their ability to participate in educational activities. For immigrants within that population, additional barriers restrict access to learning opportunities. These barriers have been identified and must be overcome if the principle of universal access is to be a goal.

This study has focused on immigrants to Canada whose mother tongue is neither English nor French. However, the special needs and concerns of immigrants who speak a non-standard variety of English or French have only been touched upon. This group, many of whom come from the Caribbean, are difficult to access through the Census. Further study is necessary to assess the literacy requirements of this sizeable group.

To meet the whole range of educational needs identified, a wide variety of responses is essential; particularly, those responses which help develop links between the immigrant and his community. Literacy programs operating in such contexts tend to facilitate integration by helping immigrants identify and address their own problems through the means of literacy training. They tend to result in literacy training that is relevant to the needs of the particpants. Long-term planning and funding, particularly with respect to community projects that serve the neediest members of society, are essential elements of an effort to offer real access to educational opportunities.

Little core curriculum material is available that is specifically designed for the Canadian illiterate. For example, illiterate workers need access to information about such topics as worker safety, workmen's compensation, labour codes, labour contracts, unemployment insurance regulations, etc. The allocation of funds for the production of quality, flexible materials would be a useful contribution. In particular the federal and provincial governments could be instrumental in the development of materials concerning key programs under their respective jurisdications.

MacKenzie and Reimers studied literacy provision for illiterate immigrants nearly a decade and a half ago. They observed that illiterates were not politically organised and had "no champion" and thus "very little (was) being done to help them in a systematic way" (1971, p.44). The same might easily be said today.

In the interim, however, literacy has been declared "a fundamental human right" by the international community (The Declaration of Persepolis, reprinted in Bataille, 1976). The concepts of life-long learning and the right to paid educational leave are also gaining wide acceptance in the western industrialized world. It appears that the idea of limiting education to the first twenty or so years of life is fast disappearing. To keep pace with a rapidly changing world, and specifically the constantly increasing level of literacy demanded by Canadian society, education must continue through life. Everyone, irrespective of race, creed, sex and immigration status, needs a functional level of literacy to a participate in this modern era. We need to develop flexible educational systems that are capable of delivering this basic necessity to all Canadians.

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